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THE
HISTORY OF BANDON.

BY
GEORGE BENNETT, ESQ., B.A.

"The pleasant Bandon crowned with many a wood."

SPENSER.

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1862.

ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.



PREFACE.

SOME writers seem to think they should epitomize their entire works in their preface; others seem to think they ought to strip themselves of every good quality and attribute they possess, in order to approach, in all humbleness and humility, the great public; whilst others are meaner still—they mortify themselves, and absolutely do penance for sins they never committed, in order to induce that many-headed tyrant to throw them a kind word. Our design in writing the following pages was to bring together various materials belonging to, and connected with, the rise and progress of Bandon from its earliest infancy, without heeding whether the narration of a fact exposed the faults or offended the prejudices of any person or of any party. Accordingly, we set to work. Our first intention was to produce a mere compilation—one in which the scissors should perform the duty of the pen; but, as we advanced with our task, we found it impossible to adhere closely to that arrangement. Amongst other reasons, there is many an incident or a circumstance, which, without any reference to the cause which produced it, or the subject with which it was identified, would be totally unintelligible, and consequently inappreciable by the reader.

There is no subject read by so many different lights as history. The blood-thirsty tyrant in one man's eyes, is but a strong-minded prince in those of another. The policy which induced the king of a neighboring state to decoy tens of thousands of his most industrious subjects to his capital, and then murder them in cold blood, was as vehemently applauded by one class of readers as it was as vehemently abhorred by another. Ages, also, like individuals, often read the same fact differently. When Charles I. outraged every liberty and every feeling of his people, indignant England, no longer able to withstand his treachery and his tyranny, struck off that insincere monarch's head. The monarchists of that age absolutely recorded an invocation in our prayer-book, in which they commended "his meekness, patience, and great charity," and implored the Almighty, "that our land may be freed from the vengeance of his righteous blood;" yet there is no monarchist in this age has even ventured to reprehend the good sense which swept this absurdity from our devotions.

It is the same on the all-important subject of religion. Opinions still vary as widely on points of doctrine, and even in the interpretation of the divine commands, as they did formerly on the subject of passive obedience, the divine right of kings, and similar theories long since passed away. Even that church herself, which glories in her infallibility, and long before she was rent with schism, pronounced that to be orthodox in one century which she denounced as heterodox in another.

We could multiply instances of this kind if there was any necessity; but there is none. It is our privilege to differ.

People differed since the world began, and, in all probability, will to the end of time. Why, then, should we stigmatize or censure one another because we cannot think politically or theologically alike? As well might we find fault with a man for the height of his stature, or the color of his hair.

In a work such as ours, the subject of which has been hitherto untouched by the pen, we have had a great deal of up-hill work to accomplish. We have been obliged to dig the foundations, quarry the stone, and, with the same rough hands, endeavor to fashion the superstructure. We have walked into untrodden by-paths, where each passing generation laid its stratum of history upon the ground unheeded. We have conversed with old people—many of them so old, that their faculties had almost preceded them to the tomb; and it required no little ingenuity on our part to coax them back into life. We have examined scarcely legible manuscripts, searched through dusty folios, and sought for intelligence in every quarter and from every person from whom it was likely to be procured. As the historic information in published works is so scanty, and as the manuscript and traditionary matter is so voluminous and inviting, we were glad to avail ourselves of the great assistance of the latter.

We are aware that traditionary evidence is sometimes of a questionable character; and we should be sorry to be so unbounded in our admiration of it as to admit it into our pages merely because it was tradition. Indeed, some of the old stories that have reached us are so improbable, that their very preservation is a proof of the simplicity of the human mind in their day, which we do not often find in our own.

Others come to us so incrustated with the crispy lichens of time, that we prize them for their antiquity, but nothing more. But by far the greater portion of what we have collected is not only probable, but is exactly what we would expect from the grouping of circumstances which produced them. For instance, no one will wonder that the memories of Oliver Cromwell and of William III. have been more than venerated by the Bandon people, when they call to mind that it was the former who restored them to their lands, and compensated them for their sufferings; and it was the latter who rid them of their oppressors at the Boyne.

We have had a few rare opportunities afforded us of testing the accuracy of some of what has been related to us by reference to manuscripts, which the traditionists could have had no access to, their existence being unknown at the time; and we have found the details and the names of the personages true to the letter. The only error we could accuse our old friends of is the not unusual one with persons imperfectly acquainted with history—that of confounding dates; many things that happened in William's time being credited to Cromwell, and *vice versa*.

In arranging our materials, we found ourselves under the necessity of searching much more into history than we ever intended, in order to master the points of the narratives, and the subjects to which they had reference; and, as we read on, we found, that not only did history throw light upon our collections, but that those, in their turn, threw light upon history. We then thought of publishing something on Bandon for private circulation only; but finding that many of our fellow-townsmen took a warm interest in our proceedings,

and not only placed at our disposal all they knew, but also all that they could collect, we felt called upon to give our labors to the public; and, in doing so, we can assure our readers we have aimed at writing with strict impartiality upon every subject upon which we thought it necessary to dwell. We belong to no political party. We have no prejudices to maintain, no caprice to gratify; and if we have preserved, as well as collected, many interesting records and memorials of our native town, our object is accomplished.

G. B.

HILL HOUSE, BANDON,
1862.

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HISTORY OF BANDON.

CHAPTER I.

AN INQUISITION—THIRTY-SEVEN CHIEFTAINS IN THIS COUNTY FOUND GUILTY—FORFEITURE OF ESTATES—LINEAGE OF CONNOGHER O'MAHONY—A BAD INSTITUTION—MIGHT IS RIGHT—A HANDSOME PRESENT FROM THE POPE TO HIS MOST DEAR SON IN CHRIST, THE NOBLE KING OF ENGLAND—COLONIZATION OF MUNSTER—NAMES OF THE UNDERTAKERS—BEECHER'S SEIGNIORY—THE SETTLERS—BARONY OF KINALMEAKY—DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTY.

AT an inquisition, held in Cork on the 9th of September, 1588, it was found that thirty-seven chieftains in this county were concerned in the late Earl of Desmond's rebellion. Most of these were subsequently attainted by Act of Parliament, but all had their estates forfeited. Amongst those "found guilty" on that occasion was Connogher O'Mahony, of Castle Mahon.* There were many others from this locality also against whom a similar verdict was recorded, as Dermot Mac Edmund Oge; Maurice Fitzgerald, Carrigaline; Thady O'Keif, Knockeregane; Thomas Mac Carthy, Kilbolane; John Gare, Inchidonny, Clonakilty Island. The O'Mahonys

* Connogher O'Mahony was killed during Desmond's rebellion in 1582, at the early age of twenty-three.

were of royal extraction—paternally they were descended from Cas, brother to Nadfroch, son of Core, King of Munster; and maternally, from Sarah, daughter of Brian Boruma, also a King of Munster. This Sarah was married to Kean Mac Moyle More, and amongst other issue had Mahown, or Matthew, ancestor of all that sept. Mahown's eldest son was called Mac Mahown, and the youngest, Mahown Oge, or O'Mahown. From the latter of these, Connogher O'Mahony was descended. The O'Mahowns were by no means a powerful family; for it is recorded that, when MacCarthy Reagh, of Kilbrittain, was able to take the field with sixty horsemen, eighty gallowglasses, and two thousand kern,* his neighbor of Castle Mahon could only muster twenty-six horse, no gallowglasses, and one hundred and twenty kern. When Sir Henry Sydney, the lord deputy, visited Cork in 1575, amongst those that came to pay their respects to him was O'Mahown, whom he represents as "a man of small force, although a proper countrie." The O'Mahonys—originally from Carbery—came here about the year A.D. 1460, as appears from the report of an inquiry held in 1584, which set forth, that, about the year 1460, O'Mahony of Carbery, the ancestor of Connogher, intruded on Kinalmeaky, which was then in the possession of the Crown—its former proprietor, Barry Oge,† having

* Stanishurst, who lived in 1570, describes the kern as being lightly armed with sword and target. "The word 'kern,'" he says, "signifies a shower of hell, because they were taken for no better than Rakehells, or the Devil's Blackguards." Gallowglasses were heavily armed infantry, and were men "grim of countenance, tall of stature, big of limb, burly of body, well and strongly timbered, and chiefly fed upon beef, pork, and butter. The meat they eat half raw, and then completed the cooking of it in their stomachs, where it was boiled with usquebagh."

† The estate of Barry Oge, in 1399 (Henry IV.), was valued at £1,800 per annum, besides the income derived from his two rivers, the Bandon and the Brinny.

been deprived of it in 1399—and that the said O'Mahony gave his friend, Mac Carthy Reagh, one-half of it for protection.

Intruding on each other's domains was a practice of such long standing in Ireland, that it seems to have settled into an institution ; and so amply did the chieftains avail themselves of it, that the only title most of them could show to their possessions was the blood of their predecessors. A brother slew his brother, and possessed himself of his kingdom ; a son slew his father, and did the same. In fact, it is recorded, "that one hundred and eighteen Irish monarchs were slaughtered by their own subjects, — eighty-six of whom were succeeded by their murderers." But in this they merely imitated those who went before them ; for the Ostmen intruded on the Irish, the Irish on the Phœnicians, the Phœnicians on the original inhabitants, who came here from Britain, and finally the Britons themselves re-intruded, when they rose as it were to the top of the wheel in this vicious circle of rotation. But though Henry II. and his forerunner Strongbow were, to some extent, intruders, yet the trespass they committed was not wholly unauthorized ; for the entire kingdom was given to Henry by Pope Adrian IV., who at that time held the chair of St. Peter, and whose pontifical authority no member of the Western Church ever disputed. The Bull was addressed by the pontiff to Henry "as his most dear son in Christ, the noble King of England ;" and after premising that "your magnificence hath been ever anxious to enlarge God's church on earth, and increase the number of his saints in heaven," his Holiness infallibly asserts, that the king's views on Erin proceeded from the same pious

motives ; and therefore he exhorts him to invade it, "in order to extirpate the vices of the people, *and make every house in it pay a penny yearly to the pope.*" In consideration thereof, he generously makes him a present of the island, and directs "that all the people of the land do accept him with all humbleness, dutifulness, and honor, as their liege lord and sovereign." The first sacred link in the chain that binds Erin to her sister being thus manufactured religiously by the successor of St. Peter, what pious Catholic is there that would repeal the union between the two nations? — a union which was sanctioned and inaugurated by no less a personage than the Holy Father himself.

The inquisition above referred to (1588) also took cognizance of the abbeys and religious houses in this county which had become annexed to the crown. These, with the forfeitures consequent upon the suppression of the rebellion, and the confiscations of the enormous possessions of the Earl of Desmond, estimated at 574,628 English acres, placed vast tracts of country at the disposal of the crown. Elizabeth took advantage of all this to carry out her favourite scheme of colonizing Munster. She caused letters to be written to many of the principal country gentlemen in England, urging them to send their younger sons to settle there, and that she would bestow handsome grants. She even turned Popham, her attorney-general, into a recruiting sergeant, and sent him down to Somersetshire to plead with the gentry there, and used all the influence which she possessed to further the project. A great many accordingly came over, and well could they be spared ; for, since the Wars of the Roses, there were no sanguinary battles to lop off the younger branches of the family

tree; there were no confiscations since the time of the bluff King Hal; and, colonization being still in its infancy, there were no harbors of refuge for those whose prospects were still at sea, awaiting "the tide which taken at the flood leads on to fortune."

To the grants the queen had annexed several conditions, and rigidly insisted on their literal performance; these were to the effect that every grantee of 12,000 acres should settle thereon, at his own expense, eighty-six English Protestant families, and give them leases at low rents. This settlement was to be completed within seven years from the date of the patent, under no less a penalty than the forfeiture of the entire. Among the grantees was that most restless of adventurers, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had interest enough to procure three seigniories and a-half, by a warrant of privy seal, dated February 3, 1586. The other undertakers for the county of Cork were:

				Acres.
Sir Wareham St. Leger	..	..	..	6,000
Hugh Cuff, Esq.	..	..	..	6,000
Sir Thomas Norris	..	..	..	6,000
Arthur Robbins, Esq.	..	..	..	18,000
Sir Arthur Hyde	..	..	..	5,574
Fane Beecher, Esq.	..	..	..	12,000
Hugh Worth, Esq.	..	..	..	12,000
Thomas Say, Esq.	..	..	..	5,775
Arthur Hyde, Esq.	..	..	..	11,766
Edmund Spenser, Esq.	..	..	..	3,028

The seigniori of Fane Beecher included the site of the southern portion of the town of Bandon, Castle Mahon, and the adjacent lands, stretching as far west as the western boundaries of Kilcoleman; whilst on the eastern side, it was terminated by the stream running into the Bandon river, not far from the Messrs. Allman's distillery. On the northern side, a seigniori was shortly

afterwards granted to Sir Bernard Grenville, who soon after disposed of it to Sir William Nuce. This extended from the rivulet near the Provincial Bank, as far west as the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the village of Ballineen. Beecher set to work at once to fulfil the conditions of his grant. He brought over a great number of settlers, many of the names of whom (as well as adventurers on their own private account, who arrived here about the same time) are as follows :

Abbott,	Cobb,	Lake,	Skipard,
Alcock,	Daunt,	Kent,	Shortred,
Adderly,	Ellwell,	Maskyline,	Shortcliff,
Amos,	Elms,	Martyn,	Stephens,
Bernard,	Flemming,	Mansfield,	Stokes,
Burnham,	Grenville,	Newell,	Seymour,
Baldwin,	Greatrakes,	Nuce,	Saunders,
Blair,	Hewitt,	Nicolas,	Turner,
Bennett,	Hooper,	Prowte,	Tate,
Boswell,	Harrison,	Preston,	Taylor,
Bluet,	Hoskins,	Poole,	Vick,
Brooks,	Herrick,	Peyton,	Whaley,
Blackwell,	Harris,	Rashleigh,	Wight,
Beamish,	Hickey,	Radley,	Ware,
Broake,	Jumper,	Rake,	Warren,
Corkwell,	Jifford,	Richmond,	Waring,
Cole,	Joyce,	Spencer,	Woodhouse,
Carey, or Carew	Laughton,	Stammers,	Witherhead,
Crofts,	Lewellin,	Skipwith,	Withers,
Cox,	Lodweeke,	Snookes,	Winifred.
Clampett,	Lane,	Stanley,	
Cecil,	Lambert,	Selby,	

After the plantation of these lands, they, together with various other grants, were separated from Carbery, and formed into a barony, called the Barony of Kinalmeaky.* The difficulties and dangers to be overcome

* Kinalmeaky, so called from Beake, son of Flau, a distinguished chieftain of the O'Mahonys. It means the Head of the Noble Root,—from *kean*, a head, *neal*, noble, and *mecan*, a root, in reference to the O'Mahonys.

by the first settlers were enormous. They had left the land of the apple-blossom and the cherry for a dreary region of dismal swamps, where fever and ague alternately prevailed; they had left the rose and honey-suckled cottages of "merrie England" for gloomy woods and for forests, inaccessible to almost every living thing, save the outlaw and the wolf; and they had exchanged the gratulations of kinsmen, and a parent's blessing, for the anathema of the wood-kern, and the stifled curses of his chief. Yet, despite these discouragements, their spirits never flagged for a moment. They perseveringly toiled on, till, by the magic of their industry, the woods were hewn down, the bogs drained, the lands fenced, and comfortable farm-houses erected.

Some conception of the locality thus improved, and of the labor necessary for its accomplishment, may be formed from a description given of it in its primitive state, in which it is represented as being "a mere waste bog, serving as a retreat for wood-kerns, rebels, thieves, and wolves." Even in 1600, some years after the settlement had been commenced, the greater part of Kinalmeaky was still in a state of nature; for, after a battle fought that year at Ballinahassig, the Irish, being worsted, "retreated beyond the bridge of Ballinecourse, amongst the fastnesses of Kinalmeaky." In twelve months after, the improvements were so inconsiderable, that Sir George Carew, on his way to the siege of Dunboy Castle, was obliged to make a detour; the direct route through Kinalmeaky "being all wood and water." Accordingly we find, that, after his first day's march to Ballinahassig, he proceeded the second day to Timoleague—where he hanged three of the rebels—the third to Rosscarbery, and the fourth to Glandore. In

another place, we read, that, in the year 1601, the straight line from Cork to Bantry and Baltimore "has the plains so deep ~~and~~ boggy, the mountains so rough and craggie, that the carriage garrons wern't able to travel six miles a day." Having made considerable progress with their plantation, the colonists resolved on making provision for a rainy day, and, in pursuance of this object, resolved on building a town. They at first thought of founding it where Nuceestown now stands, but, fearing there would be a deficiency of water for manufacturing purposes, they abandoned it; then it was that they finally selected a confluence of sweet waters*—a place abounding with streams and rivulets, all of sufficient magnitude for almost any purpose, and possessing an unlimited supply of first-class water-power—the present site of the ancient and loyal borough of Bandon-bridge.

* Dr. Smyth examined many chalybeate springs in our neighborhood. He describes the Bandon (Paddy's Well) thus: "Bandon is a rare chalybeate spring, of considerable strength, situated at a small distance from the church, near the banks of Bridewell river, but, in floods, liable to be overflowed. Being examined on the spot, it struck a deep purple with galls. Three pounds ten ounces of it being exhaled by Dr. Rutty, in Dublin, left five grains of a snuff-colored residuum, and some small parts of it yielded to the magnet. When drank to the quantity of two or three pints, it has been found to excite an appetite, ease pains in the stomach, lessen swellings in the legs, and to have cured a great many persons overrun with scurvy."

CHAPTER II.

BANDON—DERIVATION OF THE WORD—OLD NAME OF THE RIVER—THE BRIDGE FIRST ERECTED—THE SOUTHERN SIDE OF THE TOWN THE OLDEST—DROHID-MAHON THE OLD NAME—ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS IN KINSALE—THE SIEGE OF RINCURRAN CASTLE—SURRENDER OF KINSALE, BALTIMORE, ETC., BY THE SPANIARDS—NAMES OF SOME OF THE IRISH THAT WENT TO SPAIN.

BANDON, or Bandon-bridge, is built partly in the parish of Kilbrogan, and partly in that of Ballymoodan; all the former, and a greater portion of the latter, are comprised in the barony of Kinalmeaky, the residue of Ballymoodan being in the east division of East Carbery. It is nearly twenty miles south-west from Cork, with which city it is connected by rail. The town derives its name from a bridge that was built across the river, at the place where a ford once existed, and which bridge was completed before a house arose on either bank. The bridge in turn takes its name from the river which flows beneath its arches, the ancient name of which was the Glaslin, or Glasson, from the Irish word *glas*, signifying "green." It was subsequently called the Bandon, probably from "Ban-dun" (white fort), in allusion to the fort on the Old Head of Kinsale, or from "Ban-aban" (fair river). It is not easy to ascertain the precise period at which "the Bandon" was substituted for "the Glaslin," but its present name may be traced as far back as the fourteenth century; for we read, that, in a great battle fought in that century between Miles de Courcy,* Baron

* Miles was the grandson of John de Courcy, Baron of Kinsale, who was slain, with his brother Patrick, in the Island of Inchydouny, A.D. 1295.

of Kinsale, and Florence Mac Carthy More, the latter was overthrown, "and a multitude of his followers were driven into the river Bandon, where many of them were drowned."

The piece of ground upon which the southern portion of the town is built was formerly overrun with broom and heather, and was known as Inis Fraoc, whilst the northern side was occupied by a splendid oak forest, called, by the natives, Coilldarac. The colonists, having decided on a site, naturally concluded that a permanent highway connecting both sides of the river was of paramount necessity. Accordingly, their first essay in architecture was the construction of a bridge; this extended in a north-easterly direction from the northern end of Bridge Street to the opposite side of the river, and stood not many yards to the west of its present more commodious successor. It consisted of six arches, and was built of stone. It had no parapet walls, but, in lieu thereof, wooden railings flanked it on both sides; these were composed of intersecting rails, joined to uprights, and surmounted by a hand-rail. Where the uprights met, the hand-rail was ornamented by a large ball of wood, which rendered the *tout ensemble* of the structure both picturesque and graceful. Houses were first erected at the southern side; and so numerous had they shortly become, that we find them styled, "The town lately built on the southern side of the Bandon." At first they were run up in the simplest manner, being composed of timber, lathed and plastered into shape; the gables were, however, built of stone, and in them were the fire-places; the roofs were covered with shingles, principally of oak, permission being given the tenants to cut timber *on the premises* for that purpose. The name

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given the town by the Irish was Drohid-Mahon, or O'Mahony's Bridge. Even the bog where the inhabitants of Drohid-Mahon originally cut their turf still bears the impress of its connection with the town, Mohn-Drohid being the name even yet applied to an old cut-out turf bog lying a few miles to the west of Bandon. We are not able to discover the exact year in which the first stone of the first house was imbedded in the soil, but it could not have been later than 1596, nor could it have been earlier than twelve months prior to that period.* The first settlers, having come over in 1590, were for a few years engaged in reclaiming the

* We are certain that for nearly a century before, a few hardy pioneers had settled in some of the clearings of the primeval forest along the banks of the river, and it is not improbable that even some of these may have squatted in the vicinity of the ford. That some colonists did hover about "the pleasant Bandon," and that so long ago as 1527, appears from an extract of a letter in the State Paper Office. The letter is from King Henry VIII. to the mayor, citizens, officers, trustees, and subjects of the city of Cork, and to the officers and subjects at Bandon: "Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you wit, that in consideration of the virtue, learning, and qualities of our well-beloved Sir Dominick, Vicar of Cork, we have not only preferred him to the Bishoprick of Cork and Cloyne, but also granted unto him, in respect of the tenuity of our said Bishoprick, the said Vicarage of Cork, and the Parsonage and Vicarage of Bandon. In commendam, our pleasure is, you shall aid and assist him as well in the possession of the same, as in receiving of the fruits and profits thereunto in any wise belonging, if any person, whatsoever condition he be of, shall attempt anything to his prejudice." If anything further was necessary to strengthen our views on this subject, we have it on an old tombstone which once did duty in the Roman Catholic burial grounds at Ballymoodan, and which was erected to the memory of Willoughby Turner, who died in 1531. Nevertheless, we think there was no such nucleus of a colony at that time large enough to be styled "the officers and subjects at Bandon." The Rev. Dominick Terry, concerning whom the letter was written, *was Vicar of Cork and Rector of Shandon*, and when translated to the See of Cork by Henry, was allowed to retain "the said Vicarage of Cork, and the Parsonage and Vicarage of Bandon, in respect of the tenuity of the said Bishoprick." It looks as if the transcriber made an error here, and spelt Bandon for Shandon. There is something wrong also about the date 1527, as Terry's promotion did not take place until nine years afterwards, 1536. Pope Paul III. appointed Lewis Mac Namara to the vacant mitre, but Terry had the best of it—he got all the emoluments.

lands; and as the bridge was erected in 1594, and no building existed previous to it, it may be fairly assumed that the following spring saw the builders at work. We think it could not be later than 1596, because the terms of the patent obliged the grantee to have his colony planted in the space of seven years; and, as these would expire in 1596, we cannot be far out in placing the turning of the first sod between the bridge's completion in 1594, and the expiration of the patentee's term in 1596,—in other words, Bandon seems to have been founded in 1595. Although, as before stated, we have not been able to discover the precise year in which Beecher's seigniority was planted, there is evidence extant proving its existence a few years prior to 1600.

On the 23rd of September, 1601, a Spanish fleet of fifty sail, with six thousand troops on board, entered the harbor of Kinsale, and as Bandon, which is only ten miles distant, actually felt the foot of the invader, its fate on the occasion must have trembled in the balance. The siege of Kinsale, therefore, is not foreign to our subject, and accordingly we shall notice the operations consequent on its investment. The chief captains of the Spanish expedition were:

Marquis de Santa Cruz, Ad-	Captaine Don Pedro Morijon;
miral of the Fleet;	Captaine Don Miguel Caza
Don Juan de Aquila, Com-	de Cuellar;
mander of the Land Forces;	Maestro Miguel Briena;
Don Francisco de Padilla;	Luis Diaz de Navarra.
Antonio Ceuteno;	

The military forces being landed, and meeting no resistance, at once took possession of Kinsale and the Castle of Rincurran, where they remained without opposition until the 16th of October, when an English force, consisting of 7,600 men, marched from Cork to

attack them, under the command of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, and the Lord President of Munster, Sir George Carew.* On the 17th this force encamped at Knockrobin. In three days after, the enemy, nothing daunted by their presence, sallied out with one thousand men; but, being seasonably discovered, they were repulsed with loss. The next day (October 21), Cormac Mac Dermot Carty, Chieftain of Muskerry, with the Irish under his command, attacked the Spanish trenches with success. Upon the 26th, the besiegers removed to Spittal Hill, on the north side of the town, and the next two days were occupied in landing their artillery.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards attempted to relieve Rincurran Castle, but were prevented by Captain Pieroy, who commanded the lord president's regiment on guard that night. In this he was assisted by a cannonade, kept up by Captain Tom Button's ship-of-war. During the next three days, the castle was battered under the immediate superintendence of the lord president; the Spaniards, attempting to relieve it, were again driven back, and their leader, Don Juan de Coutreras, taken prisoner. The ordnance still continuing to play, towards night the besieged beat a parley; the drummer on that occasion being accompanied by a Corkman. They demanded permission to march to the town with their arms, which being refused, both sides resumed firing. About two in the morning, finding the castle no longer tenable, the Spaniards beat another parley, which being disregarded, a portion of the garrison attempted to make off by the rocks, close to the water side, but were

* The troops were rationed with two pounds of beef and eight herrings per diem per man. The horses were supplied with oats, at the rate of six shillings per barrel.

all made prisoners. An hour before day, the commander, Bartholomew Paez de Clavijo an Alfero, offered to surrender every thing, stipulating only that he and his men should be sent into the town—this was also refused. He then determined to bury himself in the ruins of the castle; but, the garrison threatening to throw him out of the breach, he was forced to surrender.

On the 17th of November, another fort at the harbor's mouth, called Castle Ni-park, was invested; and, being battered on the 20th by the English fleet under Admiral Leviston, it was surrendered by the Spaniards, who were all made prisoners. On the morning of the 23rd, a trumpeter was sent to summon the town, to which Don Juan replied: first, that he held the town for Christ, and next for the King of Spain, and would defend it against the enemies of both. This compliment was responded to by a brisk cannonade; and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, attacking the trenches at the same time, drove the enemy to the gates. On the night of the 2nd of December, about two thousand of the besieged sallied out upon the battery; and, after a furious combat, they were finally repulsed with the loss of two hundred men.

While the Spaniards, thus cooped up in a corner of the south, were desperately defending themselves, the northern chieftains were coming down to their relief, O'Donnell, descending from Donegal, traversed the whole island, from north to south, with incredible speed. O'Neil, from Antrim, somewhat later, hastened after him. Both chieftains met at Bandon on the 18th of December; and their united forces, which included some Spaniards who had landed at Castlehaven, amounted to seven thousand men. With these they proceeded next

day down the left bank of the river, and halted on a hill, about a mile from the English, where they continued to manoeuvre in the rear of the besiegers, till the morning of the 24th, when suddenly Mountjoy marched up to attack them. On seeing his approach, they fell back a few miles towards Cork, till they reached Ballinahassig ford, where a river on one side and a bog on the other protected their flanks; and here they resolved to make a stand. Mountjoy soon, however, arrived and furiously attacked them before they were well able to take up their position. The mounted men of Ulster, though outnumbered, fought well; but the Irish foot, being composed of raw levies, soon began to waver. Covered by their cavalry, they retreated in disorder, and left the seven hundred Spaniards to their fate. The Spaniards, not being mounted, refused to quit the field, and were literally cut down in the ranks in which they stood, excepting about forty of their number, who, with their commander, Del Campo, were prevailed on to take quarter. The victory was complete. Twelve hundred of the Irish were slain; their camp was taken, ~~their~~ baggage lost, and their cause destroyed. This complete overthrow so disheartened the garrison of Kinsale, that, towards the end of the month, they began to capitulate; and on the 2nd of January, 1602, the following terms were agreed on: That the Spaniards should evacuate Kinsale, Baltimore, Castlehaven, and Berehaven Castles; that they should have liberty to carry into Spain all their arms, artillery, ammunition, treasure, &c.; and that they should be provided with shipping and provisions to transport them, if they paid for the same. Accordingly they soon after returned to Spain,

accompanied by many of the Irish, amongst whom were :

O'Donnell, the dauntless Red Hugh.*

Connogher O'Mahown, of Kinsale.

Dominick White, a carpenter's son.

Andrew Butler, a kern.

O'Sullivan Bear and one Trant, of Dingle.

David Fitzgarret Barry, with his wife and children.

Dermot Mac Finnin Cartie, of Skeaghe in Carbery.

Desmond O'Longie, of Muskerry.

Connogher Mac Donogh, of Rathmore, Kinalea.

David Skemnehan, of Rincurran.

Richard Meaghe, son and heir of James Meaghe, Kinsale.

Connor O'Maghon, of Lemcon.

* He did not live long in exile; for he died at Simanca, in Spain, on the 10th of September, 1602.

CHAPTER III.

CAPTAIN TAFFE AND THE BANDON COLONISTS MARCH INTO THE FASTNESSES OF CARBERRY—UPON THEIR RETURN THEY ARE VIGOROUSLY ATTACKED BY THE POPE'S APOSTOLIC VICAR—HIS DEATH—HIS CHAPLAIN TAKEN AND HANGED—PURCHASE OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S ESTATE BY MR. RICHARD BOYLE—THE CIVIC AUTHORITIES AT CORK REFUSE TO PROCLAIM JAMES I.—A BIGOTED BROGUE-MAKER—WHAT IT IS TO HAVE FRIENDS ON THE JURY—SIR HENRY BEECHER, LORD PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER—TIMOLEAGUE ABBEY—BANDON BEGINS TO SETTLE ITS FUTURE FORM OF GOVERNMENT—DIFFICULTY OF INDUCING THE IRISH TO ADOPT ENGLISH CUSTOMS—LEASE OF PREMISES IN BANDON IN 1608—VARIOUS ADVANTAGES BESTOWED ON SIR HENRY BEECHER AND HIS NEWLY ERECTED TOWN, CALLED BANDON-BRIDGE—KILBROGAN CHURCH, THE FIRST PROTESTANT EDIFICE BUILT IN IRELAND—THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AT DOWNDANIEL—BANDON INCORPORATED—SENDS TWO MEMBERS TO PARLIAMENT—THE FIRST PROVOST.

As the greater part of the history of Bandon that is extant from this period may be termed "fragmentary," consisting, as it does, of sundry insulated portions too widely apart from each other to be written into a closely connected narrative, we shall adopt the plan pursued by Messrs. Hayman, Tuckey, and other able and industrious compilers, and crowd everything we can find, relating however remotely to the subject, into the respective years wherein those events are recorded to have happened, and thus, as it were, by annalizing our scanty information, we hope to prepare the way for those who, in the Corinthian style of history, may hereafter be ambitious of making a standard work out of the materials we have collected.

1602.—On the 5th of January, Captain Taffe, in pursuance of orders from the lord deputy, marched into

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the fastnesses of Carbery, with forty men of Sir Edward Wingfield's company, his own troop of horse, and some volunteers from Bandon-bridge, in pursuit of Owen Mac Carthy's sons, and brought away with them two or three hundred cows and garrons. The Mac Carthys followed in pursuit of their cattle, under the command of Daniel O'Sullivan, and, coming up with them, charged so resolutely, that Taffe's foot were thrown into disorder. Perceiving this, Taffe rushed down at the head of his horse, and drove the enemy into a wood, where four of them were killed, and the rest routed.* They, however, soon rallied, and boldly advanced, headed by the Pope's Apostolic Vicar, Eugene Mac Egan, the Bishop of Ross, who, with a sword in one hand, and his portius and beads in the other, courageously came up with one hundred of his followers, and commenced a vigorous attack. It is unknown how the action would have terminated, had not the valiant bishop been unfortunately killed, upon which the Mac Carthys, terror stricken and amazed at the vulnerability of their priestly leader, fled in utter confusion. Some ran precipitately to the mountains; others plunged headlong into the neighboring bogs; but by far the greater portion endeavored to cross the river Bandon, in which attempt nearly one hundred of them were drowned. Cox positively exults over the fall of this pugnacious prelate. He says, "Captain Taffe slew the great apostolic vicar." Amongst the prisoners taken was the bishop's chaplain, who was shortly afterwards hanged at Cork. Of the bishop himself, it is recorded, that, when any Irishman was brought before him who was or had been in the service

* This battle was fought midway between Dunmanway and Ballineen, and on the right bank of the Bandon river.

of the queen, he had him first confessed, then absolved, and, lest his immaculate soul should again become maculated with Saxon loyalty, he had him led from the altar to the halter. His body was carried off the field by O'Sullivan, and buried in the north-western angle of the cloister of Timoleague Abbey, and a little cross set over it in the wall to mark the place of his interment.

On the 7th of December, this year, Mr. Richard Boyle effected the purchase of all Sir Walter Raleigh's Irish estates. The deed was drawn up between Sir Walter Raleigh, Knt., Captain of the Queen's Guards, Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Devon and Cornwall, Governor of Jersey Island and its castle, of the one part; and Richard Boyle, Esq., Clerk of the Council in Munster, and a native of England, of the other part; whereby Sir Walter—in consideration of £500 English money beforehand paid, £500 to be paid at Michaelmas, 1603, and £500 to be paid at Easter, 1604—conveyed to the said Richard Boyle the several lands: but it is needless to enumerate all the names mentioned in the deed. Suffice it to say, the lands referred to embraced Lismore, and the Youghal, Waterford, and Dungarvan estates lately possessed by the Duke of Devonshire.

1603.—On the death of Queen Elizabeth, great tumults arose in the city of Cork. The civic authorities, Thomas Sarsfield, mayor, and William Mead, recorder, ~~and their followers~~ ^{and their followers}, having refused to proclaim James I., Mountjoy, the lord deputy, came down from Dublin in consequence of it, and, encamping outside the walls, was on the next day admitted. The disturbance being quelled, three of the ringleaders were executed—namely, Lieutenant Murrough, Owen Mac Redmond,

and one Walter Butler, "a bigoted brogue-maker."* These three not being possessed of a freehold were hanged without a jury; but the recorder was more fortunate; for, being put upon his trial before a jury of the county, against clear evidence *and his own confession*, they shamefully acquitted him. The reason these honest men ignored his worship's admission of guilt is not plain. Probably they did not believe him. The foreman, however, for his misconduct was fined two hundred pounds, and the rest one hundred pounds each. "Master Mead, after this, being set at liberty, became a pensioner of the King of Spain, and died at Naples."† The names of the jury before whom the recorder was tried deserve to be recorded. They were:

Owen O'Sullivan,
Tiege Mac Cormac Carty,
John Taylor,
Joshua Barry,
Edmund Barry,
Arthur Hyde,
Charles Callaghan,
William Mellefont,

Redmond Meagher,
Tiege Mac Dermot Carty,
John Barry,
Garrett Barry,
Brian Owen Mac Swiney,
T. C. Gankrough,†
Garret Buy Barry.‡

1604.—Sir Henry Beecher, son of Fane the patentee, succeeded Sir George Carew as Lord President of Munster. Timoleague Abbey, being in a state of dilapidation, was repaired this year. Timoleague is so called from Tee-Molaga, the residence of St. Molaga.§ The abbey belonged to the Franciscans, and was founded by Daniel M'Carthy, Prince of Carbery, in the reign of Edward II., A.D. 1320. It is recorded, that an ancient

* A disciple of St. Crispin should have remembered, "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*"

† See Cox's History of Ireland.

‡ These two jurors affixed their marks, as they could not write.

§ The festival day of St. Molaga was on the 20th of January.

house, once inhabited by St. Molaga, was formerly built on the site now occupied by the abbey. Edmund de Courcy, Bishop of Ross, was buried there in 1518. He was brother to Nicolas de Courcy, Baron of Kinsale. This prelate was highly esteemed by King Henry VII., whose title and interest he constantly defended against Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. It appears, that on the arrival of Sir Richard Edgecomb in Dublin, to take the oaths of the chief persons in Ireland after Warbeck's rebellion, he sent for this bishop to consult with him on his proceedings; and so high an opinion was entertained of his loyalty, that it was thought unnecessary to put the oaths to him. It was this bishop that built the steeple, dormitory, infirmary, and library of the abbey; and, at his death, he bequeathed to it many rare books, valuable altar plate, &c. Father Mooney, Provincial of the Irish Franciscans, who visited this abbey in 1603, speaking of it, says:*

"The church was indeed a splendid edifice, having a spacious choir, aisle, lateral wing, and magnificent tall tower. The cloister was very beautiful, square, richly arcaded, and covered with a platform, on which there was a suite of apartments comprising chapter-room, refectory, and the guardians' ample chamber. Along with these the convent had also its dormitory, kitchen, cellars, and other appurtenances, which made it one of the noblest houses of our order in Ireland. When I visited the place, the entire edifice was still standing, though sadly in need of being repaired; for, indeed, it had suffered much from the ruthless vandalism of the English soldiers, and also from the sacrilegious rapacity of William Lyons, Protestant Bishop of Cork, and a certain Dr. Hanmer, an Anglican minister. During the late war, a body of English soldiers, consisting of one hundred infantry and fifty horsemen, halted before Timoleague, and, entering the church, began to smash the beautiful stained glass

* *Vide* "Hibernian Magazine."

windows, and destroy the various pictures about the altar. It so happened that the carpenter, whom our friars employed to look after the repairs of the sacred edifice, was present on this occasion; and, seeing the impiety of those creedless mercenaries, he addressed himself to our holy founder thus: 'St. Francis, in whose honor this house was built, I know that thou art all powerful with God, and canst obtain from him whatsoever thou askest. Now, I solemnly swear that I will never do another day's work in this monastery, if thou dost not take speedy vengeance on those sacrilegious wretches who have destroyed thy holy place.' And, indeed, it would appear that the poor man's prayers were soon heard; for, on the following day, when the soldiers had struck their tents after doing such serious damage to the church and monastery, they were encountered by Daniel O'Sullivan, Prince of Bear, who, with the small force then under his command, fell upon them, and cut them to pieces. Dr. Hanmer, whom I previously mentioned, destroyed the dormitory in 1596; for he came in a small vessel to Timoleague, in order to procure timber for a house which he was building near Cork; and, having learned that the friars' cells were wainscoted with oak elaborately carved, he pulled asunder the rich wood work, and placed it aboard his vessel. But his sacrilege was duly avenged; for his ship had hardly put to sea, when a gale sprung up, and sent it with its freight to the bottom. Lyons, the Protestant Bishop of Cork,* was an unrelenting enemy to our convent of Timoleague, and never spared that beautiful house when he required building materials. In 1590, having commenced building a mill, he and his posse made a descent on the mill belonging to our friars, which stood on the Arrighideen, and carried off the hammer-stones and machinery, which he re-erected in his own neighborhood. Soon afterwards, however, an inundation swept away all his work; and many who witnessed the fact attributed it to the indignation of Heaven!"

Several tombs belonging to old Irish families are still to be found within the walls. The Mac Carty Reaghs, of Kilbrittain Castle, lie in the middle of the choir. West of these was a monument to the O'Cullinanes, and

* William Lyons, the nautical prelate, was Bishop of Cork, from 1583 to 1617.

on the right a broken tomb of the Lords de Courcy. Eugenius O'Hagan, Bishop of Ross, and Apostolic Vicar to Pope Clement VIII., was buried here, as were also Allan Patrick O'Fihelly, of the order of Friars Minor, a man famed for his great learning, the O'Donovans, the Barrys, O'Heas, O'Learys, O'Brians, and many others. The town was once a place of note, being much resorted to by the Spaniards, who imported large quantities of wine here; and it is said, that formerly no less than fourteen taverns sold sack in this place.

1605.—We find that Bandon had, by this time, attained so much strength and importance, that its inhabitants began to settle its future form of government.

1606.—Heavy fines were imposed on the Mayor (William Sarsfield) and the Corporation of Cork for not attending divine service at the Protestant church. The Sovereign and Burgesses of Kinsale were also fined for a similar offence. Great efforts about this time were ineffectually made to induce the Irish chiefs to adopt the English language, manners, and customs. One of the O'Neils, a staunch anti-reformer, said, "It did not become him to writhe his mouth to chatter English;" and so sternly anti-Saxon was he in other respects, too, that he is stated to have executed one of his soldiers for having a few English biscuits in his wallet. In matters of dress, the Irish chieftains were equally conservative. At a parliament held in Dublin about twenty years before, a thorough change of costume was insisted on. Sir John Perrot, the lord deputy, ordered all the chieftains about him to wear trews; and the better to induce them, he gave a pair gratis to Tirlogh

Lynogh and others of the principal men ; but they, considering them to be but marks of subjection, are said to have embraced them like fetters. The poor Celts seemed to think that, perhaps, petticoats were more potent than pantaloons, or that as they were so long ruled over by a woman, that the nether garments became her alone. In this fashionable fix, it occurred to one of them, that, if he were compelled to sport a pair of these comic-looking unwhisperables, he should have some one rigged out in an equally ridiculous fashion to accompany him. Accordingly, he begged the deputy to order his chaplain to walk through the streets along with him, with his breeches on ; "For then," said he, "the little boys will laugh at him as well as at me."

Tirlogh Lynogh afterwards assumed the surname of O'Neil, and met with a fate by no means unusual even in times much later. He was treacherously fired at, and, in the quaint language of that period, is said to have "received two bullets in his belly out of a caliver, as he sat at meat ;" notwithstanding which he survived many years.

1608.—By this time Bandon had increased considerably in size ; for we had in our possession a lease dated March 25th, 1608, of the piece of ground now occupied by the residence and premises of John Wheeler, Esq. The lease was granted by Sir William Nuce to one Richard Snookes at a rent of six and eightpence yearly, current money of England. The building we have referred to lies outside the commercial part of the town, forming, as it were, the beginning of our West End.

1609.—The Privy Council of England recommended that the county should be divided into two shires—

Youghal to be the capital of the one, and Cork city of the other. James I. bestowed various advantages on Sir Henry Beecher, and "his newly erected town called Bandon-bridge." To the latter he granted the privilege of a Saturday's market and two annual fairs; whilst on the former and his heirs he conferred the right of appointing a clerk to the market, the power of licensing tradesmen and artizans, and the right to every tenth salmon caught in the river, &c. A plot of ground that partly overhangs the town, now known as Gallows Hill, was given by Beecher at this time for the weekly market and the annual fairs. The markets have long since found their way into the town; but the annual fairs, we need scarcely say, still occupy the old ground.

1610.—Sir Henry Beecher, Lord President of Munster, dying, Lord Davers was appointed his successor. His son Henry succeeded to the family estate. Kilbrogan Church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but generally styled Christ Church, was erected this year. It was built upon the site of a Danish encampment, known as Badger's Hill. This was undoubtedly the first edifice ever raised in Ireland for Protestant worship. The churches previously devoted to that purpose had been taken from the Roman Catholics at the time of the English reformation; and some of these perform Protestant duty even in our own day, as for instance, the Church of St. Multose in Kinsale, St. Finn Barr's in Cork, the parish churches of Youghal, Lismore, and many other places. The main entrance of Kilbrogan Church was originally in the western gable, over which was a large stone with the date 1610 engraved thereon. This unfortunately was broken about eighty years ago, when the entrance was changed to the southern side. Previous

to this period, admission was obtained by passing through the North Church Lane, the only recognized approach at the time, as the place now occupied by the long flight of limestone steps formed one of the gardens belonging to the dwelling-houses in the street beneath. The inscription, "*Memento Mori*, 1625," which may be seen on the right of the present main entrance, was removed from over a porch on the northern side, where it had been placed to indicate when the porch was built. Previous to the erection of this church, and for many years after, it was customary for the Protestant inhabitants to bury their dead in the graveyard attached to the Church of St. Michael the Archangel,* now the Roman-Catholic burial-ground at Kilbrogan, where a few of their monuments still remain, such as :

"Here lyeth the body of Anne Dyke, *alias* Harrison, a virgin, formerly from Bristol."

"Here lyeth the body of Thomas Rice, a merchant from Bristol, who died A.D. 1639."

The old name of Kilbrogan was Killogineg; and, in a list prepared by order of Pope Nicolas IV. (*temp.* Edward I., A.D. 1291), we find the church at Killogineg rated at six marks a year. The church was dedicated to St. Michael, and stood upon the site of the present edifice known as Kilbrogan Chapel. Previous to the Reformation, the right of presentation to the parish of Kilbrogan lay in the monks of Mourne Abbey. At present it belongs to the Bishop of Cork. After the death of Sir Henry Beecher, all the seigniority of Fane Beecher became vested, by purchase, in the Boyles,

* This was pulled down in order to afford building materials for the Kilbrogan Church; and, if walls have ears, we may fairly assume that the stones in the first Protestant church in Ireland have been listening to both sides of the question for centuries.

excepting Castle Mahon and some portion of the western lands, which, in two years afterwards (1612), were erected into the manor of Castle Mahon. This the Beechers still retained, subject, however, to a right of entry on behalf of Lord Cork and his heirs—"to enter upon the lands of Castle Mahon, and cut and carry away timber and turf to keep in repair the weirs adjoining the grist-mill at Bandon-bridge."

1611.—The government was employed about the plantation of Ulster, and the preparation of bills to be brought forward in the approaching Parliament, amongst which was one for creating some new corporations, as Belfast, Bandon, Enniskillen, &c.; also to encourage the making of linen cloth, and the sowing of hemp and flax; to restrain the inordinate haunting and tippling in inns, ale-houses, and other victualling houses; to prevent all persons from re-marriage till their former partners were dead; and, lastly, that no man, having a wife, be permitted to turn her away at pleasure.

1612.—The East-India Company had some iron mines on the Bandon river, and paid seven thousand pounds for the timber of a forest, which included the wood on the lands of Downdaniel, Brinny, Innoshannon, &c. So extensively engaged was the Earl of Cork in mining speculations, that, in 1632, it was computed he had in his bloomeries one thousand tons of bar-iron, twenty thousand tons of pig-iron, and two hundred tons drawn into rods. The pig-iron was, at that time, worth eighteen pounds per ton.

1613.—On the 18th of May, the new Parliament assembled in Dublin. It was on this occasion that Bandon, for the first time, took part in the councils of the nation. So large and so populous had the town

become during the last twenty years, that it was deemed of sufficient importance to send two members to Parliament. Its first representatives were Sir Richard Morrison, Knt., Privy Councillor, Vice-President of the Province of Munster; William Crowe, Esq., Crow's Nest, Dublin, Keeper of the Writs and Chirographer of the Common Pleas. This Irish House of Commons was composed of two hundred and thirty-two members, of whom one hundred and twenty-five were Protestant, one hundred and one Roman Catholics, and six absentees whose theological opinions no historian has recorded. They proceeded to elect a speaker. Sir Thomas Ridgeway proposed Sir John Davis as the government candidate; whilst Sir James Gough, on the part of the opposition, proposed Sir John Everard. The house being divided, it was found that Davis was elected by a majority of twenty-four. During the taking of the votes, the Irish party placed Everard in the chair; and the English, not to be outdone, seated Davis in his lap. Everard, however, was immediately removed, and the whole Irish party arose, and left the house.

Our senior member, Sir Richard Morrison—admitted a member of the King's Inns, June, 1610—was appointed chairman of a committee "to inquire into the fees that were charged by judges' clerks;" and, at another time, we find him, with eleven others, sitting in committee on a bill entitled, "An Act to assure the Lands of Piers Lacye to Sir Thomas Standish." Mr. Crowe, of Crow's Nest, was not idle either. He sat, with eight others, in committee on "a bill against secret outlawries," and others.

O'Sullivan, an old historian, and a grandson of Dermot O'Sullivan, Prince of Berehaven, writes very

bitterly against this Protestant Parliament. "On the opening of it," he says, "Lord Botivant carried the sword before the deputy to church, to hear the blind ministers of the Devil." In another place: "The Catholic bishops are excluded, and the heretic usurpers of their titles and sees vote in Parliament in their stead."

On the 26th of September, 1613, the town of Bandon-bridge was incorporated. The corporation is styled, The Provost, Free Burgesses, and Commonalty of the Borough of Bandon-bridge. The town on both sides of the river was included. By the charter, a provost and burgesses were appointed—the latter to be twelve in number, out of whom the provost was chosen. He was to be elected at midsummer, and to enter on his duties at Michaelmas. He was empowered to hold a court of record for debt, trespass, &c., every Thursday; to appoint a clerk of the market, and, in conjunction with the burgesses, make by-laws; to have a common seal; to choose proper officers, such as purse-bearer, sergeant-at-mace, tip-staff, sword-bearer, &c. He could also make guilds, as of merchants and other companies. The first provost and burgesses were:

Sir William Nuce, Provost,	Richard Crofts,
Edward Beecher,	Christopher Lewis,
John Whaley,	Stephen Skipwith,
Richard Redmond, <i>alias</i> Skipard,	Thomas Taylor,
Thomas Adderly,	William Whaley,
Nicholas Blacknell,	William Cecil.

One of the first acts of the corporation was to pass a by-law, "That no Roman Catholic be permitted to reside within the town." This act of exclusion was a matter more of policy than of prejudice; for the Irish

were well known to be intensely hostile to the settlers, and the latter probably thought that the longer they could keep at arm's length their implacable neighbors, the better it would be for both parties. The provost, as we have said, entered on his duties at Michaelmas. On this occasion, it was customary for him, duly attended by his personal staff, to perambulate the boundaries, proclaiming the jurisdiction of the corporation. He and his officers invariably wore a new suit of clothes on the occasion; and, during the procession, they were accompanied by a large mob of women and boys, who pelted his worship on all quarters with handfuls of coarse flour and bran. This was done to some extent as an amusement, but generally to signify that they hoped his year of office would prove a year of plenty. If he happened to be particularly popular, by blinding him altogether, they hoped to let him *see* how they esteemed him; and, by throwing dust in his eyes, expected to render him more clear-sighted, and afford him a better view of the various objects likely to attract his magisterial vision. Upon reaching his own house, it was usual for his worship to stand forth in all *the flour* of his popularity; and, in all likelihood choking with emotion and bran, he would thank them over and over again for the many striking expressions of their approbation which he had that day received, and tell them, probably with more truthfulness than is usual on those occasions, that he hoped he should never die until he repaid them for the weight of obligations they had imposed upon him.

1614.—This year was built the old parish church of Ballymoodan. It was a large and commodious, though a heavy and inelegant structure, erected as it was for a people whose Puritan strictness rigidly insisted on ultra-

Doric simplicity in church architecture. The Earl of Cork, in his diary, September 10, 1614, says, "I gave my year's rent of my parsonage of Ballymodane as a help towards the building of the new church at Bandon-bridge." It was taken down in 1847, and upon its site the present beautiful Gothic edifice was erected. The ancient name of Ballymoodan was Bally-budan; and by that name it was noticed in the list prepared by order of Pope Nicolas IV., A.D. 1291, in which it was set down as seven marks per annum.

1616.—Sir Oliver St. John, afterwards the Lord Viscount Grandison, was sworn in as lord deputy. O'Sullivan says of him, "He was a bloody man, and that he levied off the Papists of Dublin alone six hundred thousand pounds as fines and forfeitures for not going to church!" Toleration was at this time a thing almost unknown, and it was looked upon as weakness or treason in the few by whom it was practised. By all sects it was disowned; and we doubt not but if O'Sullivan himself sat as lord deputy in Dublin Castle, and the Roman-Catholic religion that of the state, the followers of Martin Luther would have little reason to congratulate themselves upon their immunity from fines and penalties for not conforming to the orthodoxy as by law established. The "*Annalecta Hibernia*" was written this year by one David Roche, Vicar Apostolic. In this work, Roche compares good King James to Julian the Apostate, and Englishmen to dogs and wild beasts. Cox, in a short critique on the vicar's publication, styles it, "A most scandalous lying book, stuffed with innumerable lies and malicious accusations."

1617.—On the 6th of June, Lord Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, procured a patent for holding a Thursday's

market and two fairs—May Day and St. Bartholomew's—at Castletown, near Bandon. On the 6th of August, Sir Walter Raleigh set sail from Cork on his last fatal voyage to the West Indies. The Earl of Cork, in a letter to Mr. Carew Raleigh, Sir Walter's second son, dated 1631, declares that Sir Walter's last coming to Ireland cost the writer three hundred and fifty pounds ready money, besides oxen, biscuit, beer, iron, and other matters. The day he started on his fatal *El Dorado* expedition, he dined at Sir Randal Clayton's house in company with Lord Barry, Lord Roche, Captain Whitney, Mr. Walter Raleigh, and several others; and declared, in their presence, how that the earl had kept a continual open house for three weeks to entertain him and his company; that he had supplied his ship with several kinds of provisions, and himself with three hundred and fifty pounds in money, and had given money to most of the captains of his fleet; and that the earl would now press one hundred pounds more on him that he did not want. And then addressing himself to his son Walter, and holding him by the hand, "Wat," said he, "you see how nobly the Lord Boyle hath entertained me and my friends; and therefore I charge you, upon my blessing, if it please God that you outlive me [which he did not] and return, that you never question the Lord Boyle for any thing I have sold him: for, if he had not bought my Irish land, it should have fallen to the crown; and then one beggarly Scot or another would have begged it from whom neither I nor mine should have any thing for it, nor such courtesies as I have now received."

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORTHERN PORTION OF BANDON PURCHASED BY LORD BOYLE—
 NAMES OF MANY OF THE PURITAN COLONISTS THAT SETTLED IN
 BANDON—THE WALLS—COST OF—LORD CORK IN WANT OF MONEY—
 A STRIKE AMONG THE MASONS—"MURDER WILL OUT"—A NOTORIOUS
 HOUSE OF CALL IN THE OLD TIMES—ESTABLISHMENT OF FAIR DAYS
 AT ENNISKEAN—DATE OF PATENT—DITTO CLONAKILTY—WHAT BANDON
 COULD DO IN 1622—ASSIZES FOR THE COUNTY HELD IN BANDON—
 THE FIRST PROTESTANT CLERGYMAN APPOINTED TO KILBROGAN—
 NINEPENNY A HEAD IMPOSED ON ROMAN CATHOLICS FOR NOT GOING
 TO CHURCH—NUT, THE PIRATE—THE ALGERINE CORSAIRS PLUNDER
 BALTIMORE—THE BEACON AT DUNWORRY—THE CASTLE—SMITH'S
 DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENERY—LORD CORK'S LETTER TO MR.
 SECRETARY COOK.

ON the 7th of May, 1619, the seigniory of Sir Bernard Granville, upon which the northern portion of the town is built, was disposed of. It seems Sir Bernard, the original patentee, soon got tired of his grant; for, long before he had time to comply with the conditions of the grantor, he parted with it to Sir William Nuce, a military adventurer, who commanded a company of foot, under Sir George Carew, at the siege of Kinsale; and Nuce, in turn, parted with it to the Lord Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork.

1620.—This year the colony of New England was planted by the Puritans. Having been forced back several times by stress of weather, they finally sailed from Plymouth, in the "Mayflower," on the 6th of September. On the 10th of the following November, they safely got into the harbor of Cape Cod; and, on the next day (Saturday), one hundred and one persons

landed in Connecticut. It may be interesting to remark that the names of many of them are identical with those of several of the Bandon colonists, such as Edward Fuller, Thomas Williams, Richard Clarke, Martin Mullins, White, Warren, Hopkins, Cook, Rogers, Turner, Brown, Gardiner, &c. A great many of the Puritans settled this year in Bandon. They principally came from Taunton and Kingston in Somersetshire, and were induced to come over by the Earl of Cork, who offered them great encouragement. They brought with them their wives and families, and landed in good health and condition at Kinsale. These colonists belonged to that portion of the Puritan body known as the English Presbyterians, and were considered to be more moderate in their views than the Independents. The names of several of these we subjoin, as :

Allen,	Cook,	Gardiner,	Legge,	Sloane,
Aldworth,	Conzell,	Goodman,	May,	Simmons,
Alcock,	Chinnery,	Gosnell,	Medley,	Shorten,
Anstice,	Clarke,	Goss,	Morris,	Skuse,
Arther,	Castle,	Goodwin,	Maybury,	Shortred,
Aveny,	Chonock,	Gibson,	Manders,	Stroud,
Ball,	Davis,	Gibbings,	Palmer,	Tape,
Browne,	Dawson,	Hopkins,	Powell,	Turner,
Bass,	Draper,	Harman,	Peters,	Trenman,
Baker,	Dowden,	Holmes,	Popham,	Trinder,
Burchill,	Dun,	Hawes,	Quarry,	Varian,
Banks,	Danger,	Hill,	Roe,	Wilson,
Banfield,	Emerson,	Harte,	Rogers,	Wilmot,
Butterfield,	Everett,	Hammet,	Russell,	Williams,
Bradfield,	Edwards,	Hendley,	Rice,	Wheeler,
Bradford,	Franklin,	Hudson,	Rubie,	Whelply,
Beech,	Fuller,	Jeffries,	Richardson,	Woodley,
Bond,	Gates,	Knight,	Simister,	Werfered,
Beek,	Gabriel,	King,	Steed,	Weekes.
Biggs,	Giles,	Leister,	Sergeant,	
Barber,	Gash,	Ledbetter,	Scraggs,	
Coombes,	Good,	Lyndsey,	Shaw,	

The walls of Bandon were built about this time. Beginning at the south side of the salmon weirs, they ran in a sloping direction westerly to the roadway in front of Mr. George Fuller's residence—at this place was West Gate; from hence to the south-west portion of Ballymoodan Churchyard, and on due east, until it arrives at Dr. Woods's garden wall. Here it runs due south, touching the south-eastern extremity of Messrs. Fitzgeralds' distillery; and thence in a straight line east, reaching about ten yards beyond the gable of Mr. Pope's corn-store, where it turned sharp to the left, forming the boundary-wall of Mr. Swanton's tan-yard. Here, crossing the Bridewell river, it runs along its banks, till it arrives at Mr. William Bennett's house in Castle Street. Here was the gate known as South Gate, because the principal roads from it—such as Fox's Street and Warner's Lane—led directly south. It was also called Francis Gate, in compliment to Lord Shannon, sixth son of the Earl of Cork. Hence the wall continued to run, with the stream at its base, till it reached the Bandon river. It began again on the northern side, and skirted the Kilbrogan stream, till it reached that part of the street which fronts the Provincial Bank. Here stood the gate called Water Gate. Hence it continued to follow the course of the stream, until it arrived about half way along the northern boundary of Kilbrogan Churchyard, where the wall and the stream parted company; the wall proceeding in a south-westerly direction, till it reached Mr. Hegarty's premises. Here it takes a southerly course again, till it meets the high road, where North Gate once stood. Again it turned away in a south-westerly direction, running about thirty feet to the west of the barracks;

and, running due south, continued its course in a straight line, until it meets the round tower in the river.* The walls were mainly composed of a thick black slate; those used in building the southern side were quarried in Ballylanglay; the northern part was constructed of similar materials, most of which were brought from Toomey's Glen and the adjoining quarries in the park. The walls were in general about nine feet thick, and varied in height from thirty feet to fifty. They were mounted with cannon, and had six round watch-towers built along them at regular intervals. The openings occasioned by the river were protected by iron flood-gates, and by palisades composed of beams of timber and poles, and also by a vigilant look-out when danger impended. The area enclosed by the walls was equal to twenty-seven English acres. There were also three castles erected, each of them containing six and twenty rooms; the turrets and flankers of which were platformed with lead, and mounted with ordnance. One of these was in Castle Street, adjoining the gate, another on the site of the Quakers' meeting-house, and the third on the spot where at present stands the Town Hall. The device of the Bandon coat-of-arms is taken from the bridge of the town, and the above three castles. The two market-houses also were now built. The one at the south side stretched across the Main Street, from the north-eastern extremity of the piece of ground now occupied by the modern building, to where the drapery establishment of Mr. Richard Dawson now stands. In the centre was a capacious

* In Oliver Cromwell's time, about eighty yards of the wall adjoining the river fell. This was subsequently rebuilt at the expense of the county, through the interest of the Earl of Orrery.

archway, capable of allowing the tallest cart-load to pass through; and at the south side of this archway was a large and deep well, from which the inhabitants in the neighborhood were supplied with water. After standing about a century, this was taken down in 1721. The market-house at the northern side adjoined North Gate on the south, and was rather an extensive building.

All these improvements, including the completion of the churches, were effected by the Earl of Cork at the cost of fourteen thousand pounds—a sum which, though large enough in our day, must have been at that time regarded as enormous. Whilst engaged in these operations, the drain upon his coffers exhausted them; and there is reason to fear his lordship was often “hard up,” and found it as difficult to raise the wind as many others who, with equally benevolent intentions, plunged into stone and mortar. Whilst the works were in progress, he often visited the town, or sojourned in the neighborhood. It is related that, on one of those occasions, whilst staying at the house of an elderly lady named Franklin, whom he had induced to settle in this country, and who lived at Kilpatrick, he proposed to sell her the four plough-lands of Rockfort, Ballinacurra, Callatrim, and Kilpatrick, together with the royalties, mines, minerals, &c., for the sum of fifty pounds. To this the old lady agreed, and was going into town to have the preliminaries arranged, when her good sons got wind of her intentions; and, speedily setting out, they overtook her at Keamagaragh ford, and forced her to turn back, very angrily inquiring, “If it was for sticks and stones she was going to give all her money.”

We should have mentioned, that, during the building of the walls, a strike took place amongst the masons. Their usual rate of wages was twopence halfpenny a day; but, seeing a long job before them, they resolved to take advantage of it. Accordingly they demanded three-pence daily, and struck work when they were refused. Lord Cork would not give in; so the knights of the trowel, gathering up their tools, marched off in a body to Kinsale, with one solitary exception. This poor fellow refused to accompany them, thinking probably that the old wages was better than nothing; and, for aught we know, he might have had a wife and little children, or an aged mother, depending on him for support. Be that as it may, he continued at his work; but the Earl of Cork, being anxious to complete the walling of the town as soon as possible, was obliged to send for the refractory tradesman, and give the required threepence. Upon their return, they found their former fellow-craftsman still toiling away, and resolved on inflicting summary vengeance upon him ere that day's sun had set. Accordingly, they prepared a grave in the walls; and, gathering around him, one of them struck him from behind on the head with a pickaxe, fracturing his skull, and killing him on the instant. They then laid him in his bloody tomb, placing the fatal pick under his head, and his hammer and trowel alongside him; then laying a large flag over the grave, and running a course of masonry over it, the better to conceal it, they hoped to escape detection. The unfortunate man was missed; but no one could tell what had become of him, though dark hints and ominous shakes of the head often suggested that there was foul play. In course of time, indeed, the truth began to creep out;

but there were none then to busy themselves about what did not concern them; and one generation handed down to another the story of the murdered mason, who was built up in the walls, until even the tradition concerning it began to grow dim and obscure.

About thirty years ago, two laborers were removing a part of the old town wall, preparing a place for the erection of a summer-house. They were obliged to work hard; for they found it very difficult to dislodge the stones and mortar out of the bed where they had lain for over two centuries. They worked away. At last they touched upon something that was likely to reward them for all their toil, and make them rolling in riches for the rest of their lives. They had met with a large flag, which, upon being struck, gave out a hollow sound. Instantly, visions of Spanish doubloons and crocks of gold danced before them. They worked doubly hard: the masonry flew about in all directions. They rushed at the flag, pulled it up, and, lo! there was the mouldering skeleton of the poor mason. There was the fatal pickaxe under his head, and his hammer and his trowel lying by his side, just as they were placed on the day of blood. On the right-hand side, corresponding with where his pocket might have been, was a small silver coin of the reign of Edward VI.—probably the poor fellow's earnings. The hammer, trowel, and pick were in a good state of preservation, as also was the coin; but the skeleton, upon being exposed to the air, soon crumbled into dust.

The jurisdiction of the provost and burgesses did not extend beyond the walls; therefore, whenever a poor fellow "came to grief," all he had to do was to overstep their worships' judicial limits, by doing which he

secured his own liberties by escaping from theirs. There was a notorious house of call in those times, which was frequented by all the desperadoes of the day. It stood just beyond the stream that ran outside the Water Gate, and on the right of those passing from the town to that suburb. Here was a perpetual medley of "fast" and loose characters, drunkards, swearers, Bacchanalians, Cyprians—in fact, the vile human sweepings of both town and country. All accounts agree in representing it as a regular plague-spot; and it is even said that the very air above it was saturated with oaths, maledictions, and tobacco-smoke. But a change—a delightful, moral, and religious change—has come o'er the spirit of its dream. All the bad and ardent spirits that haunted the old dram-shop have been long since swallowed up by time. Bacchus has given place to Minerva; and the site of this once dreaded house is now occupied by assemblies of Christian young men, revival prayer-meetings, and the Conservative Registration Association.

1622.—On the 16th of July, Lord Cork had patents made out in his own name of the lands purchased in this locality from Sir James Sempill, of Baltees in Scotland; and also of the manors of Ballymoodan (*alias* Bally-bandon), Castletown, Bally-de-hob, Clonakilty, and Innoshannon, in the barony of Carbery and county of Cork; together with five hundred acres for demesne lands. By these patents (19th James I.), a Thursday's market and two fairs—one on the Feast of St. Barnaby, the other on that of St. Matthew—were conferred on Enniskean; and a Wednesday's market and two fairs on Clonakilty—the one to be held on March the 25th, and the other on Lammas Day.

Bandon had increased so much in population from

the extensive immigration before mentioned, that we find it this year possessed of quite a little army of its own. On the 30th of August, there was reviewed, before his majesty's commissioners, one troop of sixty-six horse, well armed and mounted. They were commanded by Captain Andrew Kettleby. The infantry also were well armed and trained. They consisted of four captains, five lieutenants, five ensigns, six sergeants, six drummers, and five hundred and sixty-four rank and file. The captains were Anthony Stawell, Herbert Nicholas, Richard Crofts, and Anthony Skipwith. Amongst these were one hundred and twenty-five English tenants of the Earl of Cork, several of whom had leases for two hundred years, whilst others were freeholders.

1623.—The August assizes for the county at large was held this year in Bandon, owing to the influence of the Earl of Cork.

1625.—James I. died of ague on the 27th of March, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, Charles I., who was proclaimed the same day, and crowned the 23rd of June following.

1628.—The Rev. Baptist Hassell was appointed to the incumbency of Kilbrogan. He was the first clergyman of the establishment appointed to the parish, and is also stated to have been the first of the body that officiated in the parish church, as tradition asserts, that, before his arrival, the Presbyterians used it as their place of worship; and, certainly, the building, in its primitive state, was well suited to their taste, as it had neither spire, belfry, stained-glass windows, nor any of those other ornaments which the Puritans regarded as sinful and ungodly.

1629.—Lord Falkland, the deputy, being recalled, Viscount Ely, and Richard, Earl of Cork, were sworn in as lords justices. One of their first acts was to direct that Roman Catholics should be prosecuted for not going to church; the fine imposed on each recusant was ninepence for every Sunday he was absent from his devotions. On the departure of the lord deputy, Bandon, together with other corporations, petitioned the lords justices that they should be taxed as part of the county at large, and not in their corporate capacity—in other words, upon the area, and not upon the valuation.

1631.—The adjoining coast was harassed by “one Nut, a pirate.” This licentiate of Neptune seems to have practised on the sea, as if he had had a roving commission from his master. The floating Nut-gall proved a bitter pill to the neighborhood. He not only scoured the ocean, but, whenever he could see a favorable opening, he used to rush in and make a descent upon the land, plundering the inhabitants, and causing great consternation. As often as a superior force would make its appearance, this maritime strategist would stand out to sea; and, his ships being well manned and equipped, he invariably managed to escape. So powerful had he become, that St. Leger, the lord president, informed the authorities that Nut had three ships under his command—one of twenty guns, and two of fifteen each; and, at the date of his letter (May 31), he lay with his fleet at Crookhaven, where he victualled, watered, and took his wife on board. So weak was the government at this time, that, although they offered this buccaneer a free pardon, it was some time before he could be induced to accept it. There are many stories still extant about

him. One relates, that, to secure his plunder, he was accustomed to bury his keys of gold on various headlands, sacrificing, at each place, a black slave, whose spirit is believed even still to keep watch over the hoarded treasure.*

This year the Algerine corsairs plundered Baltimore.† They landed on the 20th of June, in the dead of night, from two of their rovers; and, having pillaged the place, they carried away a number of the inhabitants, amongst whom were one hundred English, including Mr. William Gunter, his wife, and seven sons. These were all carried off to Algiers to be sold there as slaves. The Algerines were piloted into Baltimore by one Hackett, a Dungarvan fisherman, who was afterwards arrested and executed for the offence. The lord president made preparations to receive them, in case they should again return. He ordered beacons to be erected on the promontory over Baltimore, at Cape Clear, one also at Dundee, and one at Dunworly—the latter to alarm the inhabitants of Ibawne,‡ who, upon the firing of the beacon, were to assemble, under arms, at Clonakilty, so that, if either Ross or Timoleague were attacked, they might hasten to their assistance. A portion of the one erected on Dunworly still remains. At Dunworly also are seen, in good preservation, the

* “Annals of Youghal.”

† Baltimore, by the Spaniards called Valentimore, was first planted by Sir Thomas Crook, who took a lease of it from Sir Fineen O'Driscoll.

‡ Upon the arrival of the English, Ibawne—that is, “the fair territory”—was wrested from the O’Cowigs by Lord Arundel of the Strand, as was Barryroe, also the inheritance of the O’Cowigs. In 1406, the then Lord Arundel, who lived in Arundel Castle at Ring, near Clonakilty, derived an income of fifteen hundred pounds per annum from those lands, besides a by no means inconsiderable revenue from the rivers, creeks, and harbors which it contained.

remains of an old castle, which was built by the O'Cowigs—a branch of the royal house of O'Driscoll, to whom the place formerly belonged. This was defended by square bastions, and occupies the piece of ground connecting the mainland with the peninsula. In style it is of the very earliest kind, consisting of a plain tower, about thirty feet in height, eighteen in breadth, and twelve in depth; and roofed in with flags, supported upon two arches, each of which is about eighteen inches in thickness, and, springing from the side walls, meet over head. It was evident there was formerly a timber floor, about half way up between the ground-floor and the roof, where the chieftain, with his wife and family, retired to rest. They must, however, have turned out early in the morning; for, under any circumstances, to lie up with an attack of gout, or even remain to breakfast in bed, was impossible; for, as there was no fire-place or chimney, the turf and fire-wood used in cooking must have emitted smoke in such volumes as to make the bed-chamber untenable. It is stated that a communicating passage at one time existed between the castle and a large natural cave, running under the peninsula, by means of which some prisoners of note, who were confined there by Mac Carthy Reagh during the great rebellion, are said to have escaped.

The peninsula—or, as it is generally called, “the island”—is remarkable for the richness of its pastures. Some seem to think this is owing to its exposure to the spray of the sea; but we are disposed to agree with those who attribute its fertility to its being the place where the cattle of the neighborhood were driven to when a foray was impending, or a chieftain was on the look-out

to increase his horned stock on terms more agreeable to himself than acceptable to the humble kerns of Ibawne and Barryroe.

Near Dunworly strand is a spring, called St. Anne's Well, which was formerly visited by the peasantry for devotional purposes. In the immediate vicinity of this well lately stood a very perfect Druidical altar, underneath which two cups of pure gold were found about forty years since. These were offered for sale to a gentleman in the neighborhood, who declined purchasing, believing them to be brass. A great number of glass beads and cylinders have been found, within the last few years, on the strand of the Yellow Cove, Dunworly. These have given rise to a great deal of speculation amongst the learned. Some affirm that they are identical with those found in and about the *crainogues* of the ancient Irish, and were imported for personal ornamentation centuries before the English invasion. Others think that they drifted up from the wreck of an Algerine pirate, which went down here about the time of the sacking of Baltimore, and were the produce of some of the Egyptian tombs, the blue beads very closely resembling in size and design those of the *Scarabæi*. Mr. Vaux, of the British Museum, after showing them to Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Franks, says, "They have no doubt whatever that they all came from the East—probably from Alexandria or Syria." And there are some who consider that they were mere trinkets being sent out in a ship of war, which was lost in Dunworly Bay in the reign of William III. The conjectures of the latter are somewhat supported by the fact that several of the beads have been found adhering to the guns and timbers of that ill-fated vessel; but these

conjectures are again negatived by the discovery that some of the cylinders are undoubtedly impressed with Arabic characters, and therefore could not be intended as playthings for savages. Several of the most eminent *savans* in France, as well as in England, have had the whole subject fully brought under their notice by Dr. Neligan,* of Cork; but, as yet, nothing important has resulted. Without expressing any opinion as to their date, or the purposes for which they were intended, we have no doubt, from frequent inquiry made on the spot, that their arrival in the Yellow Cove reckons from the wreck of the *Algerine*; tradition unhesitatingly asserting that "they came over in the robber-ship."

Smith, who visited this place while collecting materials for his history of the county, says:

"The coast is all a high and bold shore, abounding with stupendous cliffs, which astonish while they please us, while the vast expanse of the ocean adds to the grandeur of the scene. There is no object affects the mind so much; for one cannot see the heaving of it, even in a calm, without a pleasing astonishment; but when it is worked up by a tempest, so that the horizon seems to be nothing but foaming billows and floating mountains, it is impossible to describe the agreeable horror that arises on such a prospect."

In order to realize Smith's beautiful word-painting, we would recommend our readers to visit Crow Head and "the Island"—two promontories on Dunworly—where they will not fail to recognize "the vast expanse of the ocean," and the other objects that afforded such "pleasing astonishment" to the historian.

1633.—The importance of Bandon at this period as the seat and centre of a Protestant plantation, and as a

* *Vide* Dr. Neligan's account of ancient glass beads and cylinders found on Dunworly strand.

point d'appui in time of need, is evident from a letter written this year, by the Earl of Cork, to Mr. Secretary Cook. It bears date April 13, and runs as follows :

"Upon conference with the commissioners, I have been desirous to satisfy myself whether the works done by the Londoners at Derry, or mine at Bandon-bridge, exceed each other. All that are judicious, and have carefully viewed them both, and compared every part of them together, do confidently affirm that the circuit of my new town at Bandon-bridge is more in compass than Londonderry; that my walls are stronger, thicker; and higher than theirs, only that they have a strong rampart within that Bandon-bridge wanteth; that there is no comparison between their ports and mine—there being in my town three, each of them containing twenty-six rooms—the castles, with the turrets and flankers, being all platformed with lead, and prepared with ordnance; and the buildings of my town, both for the number of houses and goodness of building, are far beyond theirs. In my town there is built a strong bridge over the river, two large session-houses, two market-houses, with two fair churches, which churches are so filled every Sabbath Day with neat, orderly, and religious people, as it would comfort any good heart to see the change, and behold such assemblies; no popish recusant or unconforming Novelist* being admitted to live in all the town. The place where Bandon-bridge is situated is upon a large district of the country, and was, within the last twenty-four years,† a mere waste bog and wood, serving for a retreat and harbor for wood-kerns, rebels, thieves, and wolves; and yet now—God be ever praised!—is as civil a plantation as most in England, being for five

* The earl's boast that no "unconforming Novelist" was "admitted to live in all the town," proves, if true, that he broke faith with and badly treated the Puritan colonists, whom he had induced to come over and settle here; and, if false, it reflects severely on his credit and character. But it was impossible for him to be mistaken on the subject. Well he must have known that all the Bristol colonists were Novelists, and that it was owing to the persecution they received at the hands of the high-church party for being so, that they were coerced to leave England at all.

† That is, in 1609. He represents the site of the town as being "a mere waste bog," &c., although we have seen that the town was so large and important four years before (1605), that the inhabitants began to settle its future form of government.

miles round all in effect planted with English Protestants. I write not this out of any vainglory; yet as I, who am but a single man, have erected such works, why should not the rich and magnificent city of London rather exceed than fall short of such performances?"

CHAPTER V.

A NEW PARLIAMENT—STRAFFORD INCREASES THE TAXES—HE IS ARRAIGNED FOR HIGH TREASON—THE FIFTEENTH ARTICLE IN THE IMPEACHMENT ACCUSES HIM OF OPPRESSING THE BANDONIANS—ANOTHER PARLIAMENT—MR. ANTHONY DOPPINGS—THOMAS WIGHT, THE FIRST HISTORIAN OF THE IRISH QUAKERS, BORN IN BANDON—BANDON BEFORE THE BREAKING OUT OF THE GREAT REBELLION—ITS TRADE—MANUFACTURES—ROADS—THE IRISH GENTRY—THE TOWN DITTO—THE REBELLION—STRIKING RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN IT AND THE MUTINY IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY IN 1857—CORK COUNTY THE LAST TO RISE—THE INSURRECTION MAKES ITS FIRST APPEARANCE AT GLANDORE—CRUEL TREATMENT OF A SCOTTISH MINISTER—SEVERAL BANDONIANS MURDERED—MR. LINSCOMBE, SOVEREIGN OF CLONAKILTY, HANGED AT HIS OWN DOOR—THE SETTLERS FLY IN GREAT NUMBERS TO BANDON—ONE THOUSAND FUNERALS THERE DURING THE FIRST TWELVE MONTHS OF THE REBELLION—BANDON TURNS OUT, AT ITS OWN EXPENSE, FOUR COMPANIES OF FOOT AND ONE TROOP OF HORSE.

THIS year (1634), on the 30th of March, the Rev. John Snary was installed Incumbent of Christ's Church, Kilbrogan; Lord Viscount Wentworth was sworn in lord deputy. This able but arbitrary viceroy took a very great interest in the cultivation and manufacture of flax in this country. He imported one thousand pounds' worth of flax-seed from Holland; he also set up looms for the manufacture of linen, and so confident was he of success, that he doubted not that he would be able to undersell France and Holland by fully twenty per cent. Lord Wentworth seems to have taken a marked interest in the welfare of Ireland at this time; for he lamented that the English settlers in Ireland

were treated as aliens in various matters, amongst the rest by the gross imposition of four shillings tonnage on coals; also the prohibitory duty on the exportation of horses, and the levying of three shillings and fourpence per head on every beast shipped to England.

A new Parliament assembled in Dublin. The members for Bandon were Sir George Wentworth, Knt., and William Wiseman, Esq., Kilbegge. Mr. Wiseman was married to Catherine, daughter of the poet Spenser, and lived in Kilbegge Castle, part of the ruins of which is still visible.

The principal measures introduced into this Parliament were a bill entitled, "An Act to prevent and reform Profane Swearing and Cursing; to prevent the Ploughing by the Tail, and pulling Wool from living Sheep;" and one "To prevent the unprofitable Custom of burning Corn in the Straw."* Neither of our representatives seems to have troubled himself much about legislation; for, during the four sessions through which this Parliament lasted, we can scarcely trace the name of either Wentworth or Wiseman.

1639.—The Earl of Strafford (*olim* Lord Wentworth) returned to Dublin, and was re-appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He immediately proceeded to increase the taxes; and so effectually did he succeed, that, within a short time, the revenues of the crown were swollen to eight hundred thousand pounds per annum; in addition to which, he procured nearly one million of subsidies. Instead of expending all this

* Those old Irish habits certainly demanded parliamentary reform. But what shall we say of the legislative intermeddling, which occurred in 1447, at a Parliament held in Trim, where it was enacted, that every man should shave his upper lip, under the penalty of being used as an Irish enemy?—no joke in those days.

money for the benefit of the country, he diverted it into different channels; for he proceeded to raise with it eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, "who were designed to subdue the rebels in Scotland, and awe the mutineers in England." To the Presbyterian party he was particularly obnoxious, as he imposed a new oath on them; and several, to avoid taking it, were obliged to quit the kingdom. With the clerical party, too, he was anything but gracious, as he brought over with him "one Sir Toby Matthews, a Jesuitical priest;" and his intimate friend, Sir George Ratcliff, was known to be in correspondence with Paul Harris, another plotting priest. Strafford returned to England in 1640, where he was shortly afterwards arraigned before the peers for high treason. Amongst the various charges brought against him was one closely connected with Bandon. The fifteenth article in the impeachment was as follows: "That he had arbitrarily imposed illegal taxes on the towns of Bandon-bridge, Baltimore, &c., and cessed soldiers on them till they paid." The earl's reply to this was, "That the money levied on the Bandonians was the arrear of their contribution towards the subsidies granted to the king, and that it was levied without force." A bill of attainder against him passed both houses, and he was executed on the 12th of May, 1641.

On the 10th of March, another Parliament was called. They held their sittings in Dublin Castle. The members for Bandon were Sir Francis Slingsby, Knt., Kilmore; and Anthony Dopping, Esq., Dublin. Our junior member, Mr. Dopping, figures largely in the journals of the house as a practical, painstaking senator. Very soon he was appointed on a committee to sit on one of

the first bills introduced during the session. It was entitled, "An Act for the Examination and Settling of Fees;" also on a select committee "to consider the best means of strengthening and securing the several plantations in Galway, Mayo, Sligo, &c.; to consider a petition presented by the inhabitants of King's and Queen's County;" and on the 21st of February, 1639, the house nominated him, with three others, to draw its order for the expulsion of Joshua Carpenter, member for Carlingford, and Thomas Little, member for Banehar. There was hardly a committee appointed of any importance that did not number amongst its members Mr. Anthony Doppinge. He proposed that a deputation should go over, and confer with the English House of Commons on divers matters pertaining to the welfare of Ireland. The house having agreed to this motion, he nominated the members, congratulated them on their setting out, and thanked them when they returned. We find him bringing forward motions opposing amendments, shelving bills by referring them to committees, whilst, at the same time, he censured other committees for not reporting on the bills laid before them. In short, Anthony Doppinge was the Anthony Absolute or Triton among the minnows of this old Irish Parliament. His coadjutor, Sir Francis Slingsby, seems to have been one of the drones of the session; for we can only find mention of him on two occasions—once when he was appointed with others "to confer with the lords touching their subsidies;" and at another time when he sat "to consider the arrest done upon John Johnson." This Parliament was soon after prorogued.

1640.—In this year, Thomas Wight was born in Bandon. He was son of Richard Wight, a Protestant

clergyman in the town, and grandson of Thomas Wight, who was also a clergyman here. The latter came originally from Guilford, in Surrey. Mr. Wight was the author of Wight's "History of the Society of Friends"—the first book of the kind published in connection with that sect in this country.

1641.—During the forty years' peace that had elapsed since the death of Elizabeth, and the disappearance of Tyrone, Ireland had rapidly advanced in wealth and prosperity. In our own locality, the change that had been wrought was truly marvellous. "The plains which were so deep and boggy" had been converted into soft, luxuriant pastures; and "the mountains so high and craggy" were no longer recognized as such, being smoothed off and levelled by the strong arm of the settler, and they were now covered with verdure from the base to the very summit. Within the town trade had wonderfully increased. The manufacture of broadcloth was then extensively carried on, and afforded profitable employment to the artizan, as well as remunerative prices to the employer. By far the greater portion of what was manufactured here was sent to foreign markets—principally Holland. Tannaries, too, were very numerous, not only within the walls, but even in the outlying settlements of Castletown and Enniskean. We also had wool-combing and dyeing establishments, where the raw material was dressed, and orders executed for people, some of whom lived as far off as Tralee and other parts of Kerry. We had maltsters to supply nut-brown ale; butchers, juicy sirloins; glovers, gloves; shoemakers, shoes; in fact, representatives of all the trades that now contribute to the social requirements of the age.

The population of Bandon at this time, "wherein are, at least, seven thousand souls,"* was greater than it is even now, although two hundred and twenty years have since elapsed; and it occupied as large, if not a larger, area than at present. All the suburbs we have now were then in being, and, we suspect, even more. One at least we are certain of—Sugar Lane; for we read, that the portion of it adjoining North Gate "was spoiled, and pulled down, lest the rebels should shelter there." There were many roads striking out from the town in all directions, some of which still remain. One led over Ballylangly Hill to Innoshannon, and thence on to Kinsale; another up the Cork Road to Kilpatrick, and thence, over the mountain, to "The Beautiful City;" another through Gallows-hill Street, Carey's Cross, and on to Clonakilty; another went up by Barrett's Hill, and, turning due north, passed through Kilcrea to Macroom; and another passed through Sugar Lane, and out to Moragh—here it forked into two branches, one of which led to Nucestown and Castle-town, and the other to Enniskean. Beyond the last place there were no roads. Dunmanway did not exist for nearly sixty years afterwards, whilst the neighboring little town of Ballineen had not a house, or scarcely a name, for close upon a century and a half subsequent to the period of which we now write; and when any persons would venture directly overland, from the places just mentioned to Bantry or Baltimore, they should trust by day to whatever straggling bridle-path they could strike upon, and by night to the hollow bark of the squatter's dog, or the glare of the wood-kern's fire, as he and his outlawed companions sat probably prepar-

* *Vide* Lord Cork's letter to the speaker.

ing their humble meal of horse-flesh. The usual way—in truth, almost the only method of communication—between the towns last mentioned and Bandon was by sea. They took ship at Bantry or Baltimore, landed at Kinsale, and marched up. In those days, nearly all the gentry around Bandon were Irish, not only in their sympathies and prejudices, but also by extraction. Some of these were chieftains in possession of large tracts of country, over which they exercised absolute sway, hanging up a kern or a gallowglass to the next tree, or, pouncing upon a neighbor's cattle, would sweep them all off to their *bawn* with nearly as much indifference as if Anglo-Saxon laws and penalties had never intruded upon the Isle of Saints. Their dislike of the English, however, did not extend itself to their habits and customs. A great change had taken place in this respect since Tirlogh Lynogh's time. The Irish gentry now wore hats, and were habited in broadcloth. They drank wine and beer, and rode out on a black or a dun gelding, or a sorrel horse; and, should occasion require it, they could even turn out on a grey nag or a *copple bawn*. But, great as was their advancement, it was as nothing when compared to the prodigious strides accomplished by the corresponding class in the towns, such as the members of corporate and civic bodies. These greatly exceeded them in all the enjoyments of the social circle, and many of them led a life of almost oriental magnificence. They went to sleep upon feather beds, "with bolsters and pillows to match;"* they used spoons made of silver; rested their feet upon stools covered with Turkish cushions; walked upon carpets

* See inventory of the effects of Alderman Roche, of Cork, Kilkenny Arch.

from the Levant; drank their wine out of silver bowls; wore gold chains; and enjoyed a luxurious ease not always attainable by their representatives in our own day.

All the castles in our neighborhood were at this time tenanted. Close in our vicinity, the grandson of Fane Beecher still lived in the old residence of the Mahowns, and enjoyed all the honors and emoluments pertaining to the lordship of the manor of Castle Mahon. Down the river, and in the now old rifted ruin at Kilbegge, Catherine, the fourth daughter of Spenser, enjoyed all the happiness of domestic life, and, looking out from the windows of her mansion, could not fail to behold—

“The pleasant Bandon crowned with many a wood.”

Lower still, a scion of the old house then occupied the Castle of Downdaniel, of which scarcely anything now remains, save the large western gable, whose ivy-mantled wall and solitary tower are left, as it were, to mourn over the fallen fortunes of the Barry Oges. Still lower down, Patrick Roche, the senior representative for Kinsale, dwelt in Poulnalong, from the turreted battlements of which he probably often enjoyed the beautiful scenery of that highly favored spot.* In his castle at Kilbrittain sat the owner of three thousand armed kern. His territories extended from his castles at Carriganas and Kilgobban to where the broad Atlantic ripples on the sanded beach at Burran and Coolmain. Notwithstanding all he enjoyed, he coveted

* His summer residence was also selected for its scenery; but it was of a different kind. It was built on the steep declivity overhanging File-a-Reel Bay, Dunworly; and so difficult of access was the front of this dwelling, that, whenever Mr. Roche wanted to lay in a stock of the good old Spanish wine of those days, he found that the easiest way of conveying it to the cellar was through the roof of the house.

the possessions of his neighbors, and made frequent incursions upon them. He pillaged Ibawne; he stripped the Carberies; he ravaged the Courcies, and even ventured in amongst the sturdy settlers at Kinalmeaky; and many an old story is still rife of the sayings and doings of Kilbrittain's powerful chieftain, Danial Mac Cormac Mac Carthy Reagh.* About a stone's throw from the Abbey of St. Francis, and close upon the well wooded bank of the Silver Stream, Sir Robert O'Shaughnessy

* The Mac Carthys claim descent from Ænghus, who was baptized on the Rock of Cashel by St. Patrick, and who was the first King of Munster that became a Christian. Ænghus derived from Eogan More, son of Olioll Ollum, who was a King of Munster in the second century; but Keating goes farther back still, and tracing them up through Heber the Fair, son of Milesius, never stops until he runs them into the great patriarch—old Noah himself. One of Ænghus's descendants was named Carthach; and Carthach's eldest son was named Mac Carthach, or Mac Carthy. When Fitzstephen, and Strongbow's son Richard, first came over, they found Dermot Mac Carthy upon the throne of Cork—a kingdom which, at that time, extended to fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth, and which kingdom one of Dermot's ancestors had obtained, in 1089, from Turlogh, Monarch of all Ireland, who, upon his subjugation of Munster, divided it into two parts. The northern part, or Thomond, he bestowed on Connor O'Brien; whilst the southern portion, or Desmond, together with the city of Cork, was conferred on Donogh Mac Carthy. Upon the arrival of the English, Dermot accepted the sovereignty of Henry II., and not only resigned his city into that monarch's hands, but also gave hostages for the payment of a yearly tribute, stipulating, in return, that he should enjoy the rest of his territories without hindrance or molestation. We have said he resigned his city; but it scarcely amounts to that: for Cork was then possessed by the Danes, and, of course, he had not the power of giving what he did not possess. He told the English they might take it from the Danes; and, when they succeeded in doing so, he was the very first to try and wrest it from them. The Mac Carthys at all times ranked high amongst the most considerable families in Ireland; and, in the reigns of several of the English monarchs since Henry's time, they were officially addressed and styled as Princes of Carbery. The Mac Carthys remained more or less faithful to English rule for nearly five centuries; but, when the great rebellion broke out, the then Mac Carthy Reagh—Danial Mac Cormac, who had been high sheriff of the county in 1636, and who was even then a member of the reformed church—"after obtaining arms from Lord Kinalmeaky, in order that he may fight for the English, yet the very next day marched against the town of Bandon." After his fall, the custodiam of his lands was vested, by the lords justices, in Lord Kinalmeaky. The additional name of Reagh was assumed to distinguish this

defended his fortified keep,* until compelled to succumb to the well disciplined forces of Lord Forbes. On the bold bare rock of Ballinacarriga, the towering castle of Randal Oge Hurley reared its lofty head in proud defiance to the Saxon. Its owner joined with, and fought hard for, the rebels, and paid the penalty of ill success. His estates were forfeited, as well as his castle; and Randal Oge remained a hunted outlaw till his death. He now rests in the little moss-grown graveyard of Fanlobbus, and sleeps his long sleep by the side of his faithful wife, Catherine O'Cullinane.†

The Irish chieftains were probably jealous of the growing prosperity of the English colonists. But why should they be so? These colonists were only located

family from the senior branch, who had settled near Macroom and in Kerry, and who were known as the Mac Carthy Mores. The latter were possessed of very great influence and power, insomuch so, that, as far back as 1461 (*temp.* Edward IV.), the English were glad to pay them a good round sum annually for protection. We are unable to tell in what year the unfortunate Danial died; but he was alive in 1667, when the French were expected to make a descent upon Kinsale, and when he was represented as "near gone into rebellion." He led a wandering life after the taking of Kilbrittain Castle by the Bandonians; sometimes residing in Carbery, and at other times in Bear and Bantry, and, according to Lord Orrery, "amongst the worst lot of people in all Ireland—men that were ready for any villainy." He left a son, born in 1625, who went to France in 1647, where he married the daughter of a French count. He died in 1676 (being killed in a duel), leaving two sons—Charles and Dermot. Charles returned to this country, where he married and died, leaving a son Owen, who married a Miss Bernard. Owen died in 1775, leaving Francis Bernard MacCarthy, born 1731, who married Miss Daunt, of Kilcaskin, and died in 1821, leaving numerous issue.

* The Castle of Timoleague was built, in the the thirteenth century, by Nicholas Boy de Barry.

† Catherine O'Cullinane was the daughter of O'Cullinane, physician to Mac Carthy Reagh. This family of the O'Cullinanes, for many generations, supplied physicians to the royal house of Mac Carthy; and so notorious was their skill in curing the many ailments which the flesh is heir to, that, whenever a poor fellow was considered past all hope, it was no uncommon thing to say, "That even an O'Cullinane couldn't cure him."

upon lands which had been forfeited by those who had raised the open standard of revolt, and who had been put down by a large expenditure of English blood and treasure, and the assistance of the immediate predecessors of many of these very chieftains themselves; but, instead of being jealous of the colonists, they should have encouraged them, for they opened up the country, and brought them comforts, luxuries, and pecuniary wealth, in exchange for articles of trade to which they had previously scarcely attached any value. In truth, in this very year, the Irish had less reason to complain than they had at any time since the arrival of Strongbow; and so well content did they appear to be, that when Lord Muskerry, one of the most powerful chiefs of the Irish Confederates, heard complaints of the doings of some of his people, "he seemed very zealous for the English, and threatened to hang those who committed them;" and his scarcely less powerful kinsman, Mac Carthy Reagh, of Kilbrittain, having made many professions of loyalty, obtained arms from the Governor of Bandon in order to fight for the English.

The rebellion broke out on Saturday, the 23rd of October, the Feast of St. Ignatius. And, really, when we look at the various elements banded together for the destruction of the English colonies; when we remember the state of England herself, torn by contending factions, and rolling with an hourly accelerating force into civil war—we are amazed to find how one section of the English in this country was enabled to maintain a footing, not only against the entire Irish people massed together as one man, but against the descendants of nearly all the old English settlers, most of whom had continued Roman Catholics, and, to use the old hack-

neyed quotation, had become "*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores.*" Even the section itself was not agreed either as to the mode of conducting operations, or the end to be thereby attained. The parties composing it greatly differed in their abstract notions of government—one portion being in favor of Divine right and an absolute executive; whilst the others were in favor of choosing their own form of government, and an administration responsible to the people for their acts. The Irish Confederates laid their plans with great adroitness, and a thorough knowledge of what they had taken in hand.

The day appointed for the rising was, as we have said, the 23rd of October. This being market-day in Dublin, the crowd in the city would be less open to observation. The time of the year was well chosen; for the corn being all threshed, and the price safely stowed away, the Irish had not much to apprehend from the ravages of war. It was too early for the landlords to demand the September rents, and the winter was fast approaching, so that it would be dangerous to ship supplies from England until the ensuing spring. Nearly all the army raised by Lord Strafford for "subduing the rebels in Scotland, and awing the mutineers in England," joined in the revolt, carrying with them their arms and ammunition. Ireland at that time bore a striking resemblance to the Bengal presidency in 1857. There the native army joined with the insurgents; there a rumour prevailed that England wanted to force them to become Christian, or destroy them. In Ireland, the Roman-Catholic party stated "that the Parliament of England had a plot to bring them to church, or cut them off." The whole of Ireland was one surging mass of disaffection, with little isolated

garrisons remaining here and there, as if to mark the spot where British power once was. It was the same in Bengal. An ocean of revolt foamed round the very walls within which was many a small but faithful band, who, standing shoulder to shoulder, bravely repelled the maddened onslaught of infuriated thousands. And the object sought for by both countries was the same: "To extirpate the English, and totally to root them out of the kingdoms." This intention the Irish speedily attempted to execute, and with such success, that, during the first three months of the rebellion, no less than one hundred and fifty-four thousand Protestants were destroyed.* The first overt act committed in Munster was on the 20th of November, when the house of Mr. Kingsmill (brother-in-law to the Lord President St. Leger) was plundered. The county of Cork was the last to rise, not only in Munster, but in all Ireland. This was mainly owing to the number and strength of the English plantations, and also, in some measure, to the distance of Cork from the seat of the revolt. However, the insurrectionary element soon arrived there. It made its first appearance at Glandore, "where the rebels gagged several of the English to death."† They then caught hold of an unfortunate Scotch minister, and, having broiled a piece of his flesh, they forced him to eat it. Robert Scott, of Nucestown, together with his wife and two daughters, was murdered by them, at a place near Cloughden, in Muskerry, whither they had fled for protection to a friend's house. William Palmer, of Bandon-bridge, was cruelly murdered by Tiegue O'Lade, of Tullyglass,

* See lords justices' letter, March 16, 1642.

† Cox.

and Donogh Mac Shane, of Kilowen. Joyce Deane, a servant to Mrs. Heazle, also of Bandon-bridge, was stripped stark naked, and nearly starved to death; but her fellow-servant, Andrew Bartram, fared still worse, for he was brought out and hanged. William Wood was stripped naked near Bandon, and having received twenty-seven wounds, was left for dead, notwithstanding which he recovered, and was able to state that Rowland Field, Margaret Martin, and John Hungerford, "had turned Papists, and kept council with the rebels." Miss Gordon, who was on her way from Bantry to Kinsale, about the middle of February, was taken prisoner near Clonakilty by Mac Carthy Reagh, and carried to Kilbrittain, where she was stripped of her clothing, and confined in a dungeon, "with nothing left to cover her but her smock in that inclement season." At the time of her arrest, there was with her one Banks, a tailor, whom the rebels soon disposed of. During her detention at Kilbrittain, there were several Protestants hanged. Amongst those put to death was a woman called Margaret, who was barbarously used: "She was first half hanged, then cut down, and cruelly trodden upon by two horses, who were made to tread in and out upon her body until her bowels gushed out." This was done by order of one of the corporals; but Mac Carthy Reagh so much disapproved of this piece of wanton brutality, that when he returned home, and was made acquainted with what his corporal had done, "he caused him to be hanged for his labor."

The case of Mr. Linscombe, Sovereign of Clonakilty, was peculiarly distressing. This gentleman, having lived on good terms with the Irish, saw no reason to apprehend ill-treatment at their hands. Relying on

their plausible assurance of protection, he thought himself safe in the midst of them. When, therefore, his friend, Walter Bird, took refuge in Bandon, carrying with him the charter and corporation records, he refused to accompany him. It would have been well for him if he had acted otherwise; for the insurrection soon overtook him still lingering in Clonakilty, where the rebels, laying violent hands on him, made him drink till he sickened, and, in this helpless and pitiable state, they hanged him at his own door. His miserable wife and sister fared even worse. By threats, and also by promises of being conducted safely to Kinsale, they were induced to confess where they had concealed a sum of money, amounting to one hundred and twenty pounds, at Muckrus, in the neighborhood. But, when their persecutors got the treasure, they heeded not their promises. The two wretched women were flung into a deep pit, from whence there was no escape. There was no one to give them even an encouraging look; for the country was overrun with the enemies of their race and religion, and with them this was a war of extermination; and, as to their relatives and friends, there was none near, for they had all fled, weeks before, for their lives to Bandon. The hapless ladies lay there for several days, enduring every agony of thirst and hunger, until delirium came to their relief, and then death.

These and other like acts of atrocity so terrified the English, that they fled in great multitudes to the neighboring towns. Bandon, in particular, was crowded with fugitives, who flocked in from all parts of the west of the county, bringing with them no less than eleven hundred helpless women and children. Moreover, the young men and 'prentice boys were so wearied with

watching, that some of them slipped away to Cork and Kinsale, where they served, as soldiers, for pay.

Although many cruelties were perpetrated in this locality, yet, when we contrast the position of the Bandon people with that of their co-religionists in other parts of Ireland, we think they had reason to be grateful. At the Bridge of Portadown, upwards of one thousand Protestant men, women, and children, were brought out in parties of forty each, and forced over one of the broken arches into the river, where those that continued struggling with their fate "were knocked on the head, and so after drowned, or else shot to death in the water." At Tirawley, in the county of Mayo, between thirty and forty more of those unhappy people were led to the sea-shore, and then forced into the sea, the rebels following them with their skeins. The nearer the rebels approached, the farther the fugitives endeavored to wade out. The mothers held their children in their arms; but, as the water rose, they were obliged to lift them higher. Farther they waded out, and farther; and again they raised the children higher and higher. At last, standing on their tip-toes, the water reached their chins, and now they held their little ones over their heads; but their unrelenting foes, with brandished knives, still followed on. At length, weary of the contest, the disheartened matrons dragged their shrieking offspring to their breasts, and, commending their souls to God, sank with them beneath the waves. The atrocities perpetrated in many instances are of a nature too diabolical to narrate. It would seem as if hell itself had been scourged for new schemes of destruction and ingenious methods of torture. Even Castlehaven, who was general-in-chief of the

rebel army, says, that the murders committed by the Irish were not only barbarous, but inhuman. But it has been urged, that the leaders of the movement never intended these massacres. As regards some of them, there is no doubt that this statement is correct. The Mac Carthys, for instance, did all they could to stay the effusion of innocent blood. But what can we say of Sir Phelim O'Neil, who, on his own account alone, is charged with the murder of no less than five thousand people. "After all," as the authority last quoted says, "what difference does it make whether they committed these murders themselves, or unchained mastiffs to do them for them?"

In this fearful panic, the people of Bandon continued undismayed. Right bravely they breasted the pressure put upon them, though their trade was annihilated, and hundreds of helpless people clung to them for support; yet they were able to pay forty pounds weekly to maintain four companies of foot, and to expend one hundred and twenty pounds in the purchase of ammunition. They also raised a troop of horse in addition; but, as these were volunteers, they cost the town nothing. In the meantime, great misery prevailed among the fugitives. Much was done to relieve them; but their sufferings so increased from despondency at the loss of all they possessed, and from helplessness, hopelessness, and hunger, that no less than one thousand funerals took place in Bandon during the first twelve months of the rebellion; and if to this were added the mortality elsewhere, a fearful sum-total for the county would result. To stay the march, if possible, of these terrible events, until assistance would arrive, the lord president had raised a regiment of foot and two troops

of horse; but what were they against so many? It made Cork more secure; but the country all around had pronounced against the government.

Among others who had joined the ranks of disaffection was Mr. Long, of Mount Long, the high sheriff of the county. This functionary, at the head of a large body of rebels, took post at Belgooly, near Kinsale, where he encamped through the winter, and was supplied with provisions by some of the Irish in the town. There, too, he was joined by Mac Finnin's brother, called Captain Sugane, who, marching from Kerry, through Muskerry and Carbery, made haste to reinforce him. Dermot ni Glack, of Lettergorman, also did the rebels some service in this quarter; for stealthily approaching the Castle of Kilgobban, in the neighborhood of Bandon, he took it by surprise, and, leaving a garrison there, joined Long at Belgooly.

CHAPTER VI.

SIX PIECES OF CANNON SENT BY LORD CORK TO BANDON—LORD KINALMEAKY, THE FIRST GOVERNOR, ARRIVES—SOME PARTICULARS CONCERNING HIM—THE REBELS MARCH ON BANDON—THE FIRST BLOOD—BATTLE OF KNOCKEGERANE—WHO COMMANDED THE BANDONIANS—ANOTHER BATTLE MIDWAY BETWEEN BANDON AND KINSALE, WHERE EIGHTY OF THE REBELS LAY DEAD UPON THE ROAD—SIR CHARLES VAVASOR ARRIVES—NEARLY ALL MUNSTER IN THE HANDS OF THE REBELS—ATTACK ON DOWNDANIEL CASTLE—THREE OF THE BANDONIANS KILLED—TEIGE O'CONNOR AND HIS MUSKETEERS ESCAPE—DOWNDANIEL CASTLE—ANOTHER FIGHT NEAR SHIPPOOL—BY WHOM THE BANDONIANS WERE COMMANDED—STRINGENT MEASURES TAKEN BY THE PARLIAMENT TO PREVENT ANY ASSISTANCE ARRIVING TO THE REBELS.

On the 6th of January, 1642, the Earl of Cork, in a letter to Lord Goring, writes thus about Bandon :

"My son Kinalmeaky had been at his own town of Bandon-bridge before this time, but for his lady having been stayed here [Youghal] these three weeks by contrary winds; but, so soon as her foot is on shipboard, his foot shall be in the stirrup to go to Bandon-bridge, of which town I hope he shall give a good account; for he hath a fair rising out in the town and the suburbs thereof, and I have put up portcullises for the strengthening of the gates, and planted six pieces of ordnance* for the better defence thereof: for, I thank God, I have so planted that town, as there is neither an Irishman nor Papist within the walls, and so can no town or corporation truly say."

On the 12th of January, Kinalmeaky (Lord Cork's second son) arrived, and was appointed the first Governor of Bandon. Louis Boyle, Lord Kinalmeaky, was born on the 23rd of May, 1619; and on the 28th of May,

* These are now at Castle Bernard.

1627, when he was only eight years old, he was created Baron of Bandon-bridge and Viscount Boyle of Kinalmeaky. He married on the 26th of December, 1638, the Lady Elizabeth Fielding, third daughter of William, Earl of Denbeigh, but had no issue. Lord Cork, in a letter to Mr. Marcombes (his son's tutor), gives an account of his marriage. He says :

"On St. Stephen's Day, my son Kinalmeaky was married, in the king's chapel, to the Lady Elizabeth Fielding, daughter to the Countess of Denbeigh. The king [Charles I.] gave her in marriage unto him, and the queen presented her with a jewel valued at fifteen hundred pounds, which the king, with his own hands, put about her neck, and did the young couple all honors and grace, both with revelling, feasting, and bringing to their bed in court."

Upon the accession of Charles II., long after Kinalmeaky's death, his widow was created Countess of Guilford. At the time of his lordship's arrival in Bandon, matters there were in a pitiable plight. The rebels had ventured within two miles of the town, and suddenly swept away all the cattle to Muskerry. They also plundered Castletown, Enniskean, and Nucestown—from the effects of which the latter place never recovered—and overran the whole country, ravaging and wasting whatever they could lay hands on. So utterly abandoned had these miscreants become, that Lord Muskerry,* who commanded the insurgents in this quarter,

* Donogh Mac Carthy More, Lord Muskerry—a facetious fellow and a good companion—owned the Castles of Macroom and Blarney. He was married to a sister of the Duke of Ormond, and was general of the Irish forces in Munster. He took a very prominent part in the great rebellion, for which all his estates were forfeited by Cromwell; but subsequently, through the influence of the Duke of Ormond, the greater portion of them was restored by Charles II., by whom also, in 1658, this most active and zealous rebellious chieftain was raised to the earldom of Clancarthy. He died in London, August 5, 1665. By his wife he had three sons—Charles, Callaghan, and Justin. Charles, Lord Muskerry, died some weeks before his father, being killed in a naval

"executed several of the Irish for thieving, and sent some of the Kinalmeaky thieves to Bandon, where they soon met with their deserts."

The local chieftains of disaffection now began to assemble; and several interviews between O'Sullivan, Mac Carthy Reagh, and Lord Muskerry were reported. The spirit of disloyalty had by this time so widely spread, that the English settlers lost all confidence in their Irish neighbors. However, the Bandonians set vigorously to work. They flanked all the towers of the town, mounted upon the walls the six cannon which Lord Cork had sent them, and put all the portcullises in order.

On the 17th of February, Mac Carthy Reagh, of Kilbrittain, having declared that he would fight for the English, and made other professions of loyalty, the governor was induced to entrust him with arms; but this confidence was feloniously abused: for, assembling his retainers, he marched the very next day (February 18) against the town. This force was composed of three thousand men, who were represented as being both badly disciplined and ill armed. They marched from Kilbrittain, and encamped on the southern side of Knockegerane—Naghill—and adjoining the old Clonakilty highway. Here, having thrown up earthworks*

engagement with the Dutch, June 2, 1665, whilst serving in the same ship with the Duke of York, afterwards James II., with whom he is said to have been a great favorite. His remains were honorably interred at Westminster Abbey. Upon Clancarthy's decease, he was succeeded by his grandson, Charles James, and only survivor of his eldest son, Charles, Lord Muskerry, who, dying a minor, was succeeded by his uncle Callaghan, who, upon his nephew's decease, became Earl of Clancarthy. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, by whom he had four daughters and a son—Donogh, the fourth earl.

* The remains of this encampment at Naghill are still visible, and also the graves of the unfortunate men who were killed.

and made other preparations for their defence, they remained several days; "but the valiant Bandonians scorned to be pent up by such a pitiful rabble." They therefore formed themselves into four companies of foot and one troop of horse. The troop consisted of sixty well mounted men, and the foot companies of fifty men each. The infantry were commanded by Captains Watkins, Woodhouse, Jefford, and Hooper. The cavalry were led on by Lord Kinalmeaky in person. They all marched out of the town by the West Gate. The cavalry proceeded through the woods of Castle Mahon, so as to get into the enemy's rear, and thus cut off their retreat to Kilbrittain. The infantry marched through Ballyclogheen,* and up the steep hill on the way to Clonakilty. Previous to coming in sight of the rebels, the light company, under Captain Watkins, was secretly detached; and, having got inside a ditch, they advanced, under cover of it, rapidly on the insurgents, whilst the three other companies continued their march along the highway as before. The whole rebel force turned out of camp to see them; and, whilst they were gazing on the party in front, Watkins, unperceived, got close upon their flank. Here he should have waited for the cavalry to come up; but, unable to restrain the impatience of his men, he reluctantly gave the order to fire, which they did with such effect, that at one discharge sixteen dead men rolled over. The rest took to their heels, and being better able to run than the beef-eating Bandonians, and the cavalry not being yet come up, they escaped unhurt.

There is another account extant of this affair in a

* Subsequently called the Old Clonakilty Road, and now known as Gallows-hill Street.

letter from Lord Cork to the Earl of Warwick, which increases the slain to one hundred and five, of whom "five were leaders and gentlemen of note." It also states, that several were wounded, and fourteen taken prisoners, who were executed immediately after at one of the gates of the town.*

On the 5th of April, some assistance at length reached the beleaguered town of Bandon, forty-five men of Lord Baltinglass's regiment having landed at Kinsale, and brought with them eight barrels of gunpowder. Six of these were intended for the use of the Bandonians, who were sorely in want of ammunition, as the small stock they had bought on the breaking out of the rebellion was now nearly exhausted. Accordingly, next day (April 6), the Bandon troop of horse proceeded to Kinsale, and, having received their munitions of war—which consisted of the six barrels of gunpowder just mentioned, together with four hundred muskets, fifty swords, two hundred belts, five new colors, lead, matches, and two drums—set out again for Bandon, escorted by another troop of horse. After accompanying them some miles along the road, and not seeing anything to excite their suspicions, the Kinsale men wheeled round their horses' heads, and marched for home. Scarcely, however, were they well out of sight, when up rose, as it were, out of the earth a large insurgent force, which immediately fell on the Bandonians, attacking them furiously. The Bandon troopers were at first somewhat startled by their overwhelming numbers; but, notwithstanding, they stubbornly held their ground,

* We prefer Cox's account. It contains a precision of detail which does not belong to Lord Cork's. Besides, Cox was very proud of the Bandonians, and would be the last man in his day to pluck a laurel from their brow; yet he is content with sixteen.

and with such success, that they were enabled, not only to preserve themselves from injury, but to keep intact their precious ammunition. Meanwhile, the Kinsale troop, being apprised of what was going on, arrived at full gallop, and soon turned the scale. Then both troops, uniting, vigorously attacked their opponents with such a hearty good will, that they speedily routed them, driving them into the adjacent woods, and with the loss of eighty of their number, who lay dead upon the road. This engagement, as far as we can learn, took place about a mile to the east of Shippool; and the Irish came from the neighboring Castles of Carriganass, Poulnalong, and Kilgobban, the three of which were at that time garrisoned by the rebels.

Next day (April 7), the camp at Belgooly was broken up, and most of the insurgents proceeded to reinforce the blockade of Cork. This city, at that time, was invested on its southern side by General Barry and Lord Muskerry, who expected Lord Roche and others to do the same on the northern side. In order to prevent this, the lord president, who was besieged in the city, sent the Earl of Inchiquin and Colonel Jephson, with two English troops of horse just arrived from England, on an expedition into Orrery and Roche's country. Here they had the good fortune to relieve the Castle of Rathgogan, to take Ballyhea, and to kill some hundreds of the insurgents.

Soon after this, Sir Charles Vavasor landed at Youghal with his regiment, one thousand strong. The arrival of this force roused the drooping spirits of the English, and proportionally depressed those of the Irish. After landing, he immediately marched to Cork, where he was ordered to reinforce the lord president. On the 13th

of April, Lord Muskerry, who had encamped at Rochfortstown within three miles of Cork, caused a division of his men to chase the English scouts into the suburbs, after which they made a stand. Upon this, Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Vavasor, and other officers made a sortie with two troops of horse and six companies of foot, and pursued the enemy to the camp, which consisted of thirty-six colors. When they arrived at the camp, instead of facing about, they began to pack up their baggage. Inchiquin, perceiving this, followed them for fully three miles, scattering their whole army, capturing all their equipage, carriages, tents, trunks—in one of the latter, they found Lord Muskerry's armor—and killed two hundred of the enemy, amongst whom was that doughty warrior, Captain Sugane.

In spite of these successes, matters were still in a very unsatisfactory state. The soldiery were badly provisioned, and even worse paid; and so deeply was the lord president conscious of the latter, that, in order to prevent the army from disbanding, he was reluctantly obliged to seize on four thousand pounds belonging to Sir Robert Tynte, which the latter was carrying with him to England.

About this time, the entire province of Munster, with the exception of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Bandon, was in the hands of the insurgents. In Ulster, where the rebellion first broke out, matters were still worse. There was a great number of English and Scotch settlers thickly scattered throughout the various plantations of that province, who, if they had acted together, might easily have crushed the insurrection. But the Scots held aloof at first, being to some extent influenced by Mr. William Stewart, who had married a grand-

daughter of the Earl of Tyrone. This gentleman had collected six hundred of his countrymen, with whom he was preparing to act; but, being persuaded by his wife's relations that no harm was intended to the Scotch, he was induced to dismiss his men to their homes. That very night, the most of them were murdered.

The English interest in the county of Cork was the best maintained of any. Here the valiant Bandonians carried all before them. Having safely brought home the six barrels of powder received at Kinsale, they resolved to take the field without delay. Accordingly, in a few days after (April 20), they attacked the Castle of Downdaniel, which was defended by Teige O'Connor. The Bandonians were commanded by Lord Kinalmeaky, under whom was Captain Adderly, of Innoshannon, as second in command, and John Fleming, of Kilmacsimon, as quartermaster. During the attack, the rebels bravely defended themselves, and fired with good effect upon the besiegers, killing one Coleman, a farmer; John Moaks, a cooper; and John Wood, a turner—all of the parish of Kilbrogan. But, notwithstanding their valorous defence, they were soon obliged to give in; and Teige O'Connor and his musketeers were glad to escape to the lands of Barna, where they hastily erected an extensive circular fortress, with a double rampart and a deep ditch, to defend themselves.

The Castle of Downdaniel, or Dundaneare, was built in 1476 by one of the Barry Oges, to which sept all the lands subsequently owned by the O'Mahonys, of Castle Mahon, belonged, as also no inconsiderable portion of the lands possessed by the Mac Carthy Reaghs. The Barry Oges also held the right of presentation to the parish of Ballymoodan, which they exercised long

previous to the Reformation. After the seige of Dunboy Castle, in 1602, Sir George Carew sent some companies of foot to Downtaniel, where they remained until ready to leave Munster. About the year 1612, the East India Company of England had a settlement here for carrying on ironworks, and building large ships, two of which that were launched here are said to have been five hundred tons each. As regards the building of the ships here, there can be scarcely a doubt but that this is an error occasioned by mistaking Downtaniel for Ship-pool. If they were built so far up the river as the former place, there they undoubtedly would remain; but, if at the latter, then the statement would not be at all improbable.

The castle being taken, the Bandonians pursued the retreating insurgents; and, overtaking a portion of them near Poulnalong, the latter made a stand, and a sharp contest ensued, which resulted in their defeat, and with the loss of nearly one hundred in killed alone. In both places, considerable booty rewarded the courage of the victors.

On the 4th of May, the Bandonians again sallied out, and, having received some assistance from Kinsale, they attacked Carriganass—a strongly fortified castle, which belonged to Mac Carthy Reagh, and the garrison in which was commanded by Dermot Mac Carthy. The Bandonians were more fortunate here than at Downtaniel; for they had only one man killed—Henry Trands, a farmer, from the parish of Kilbrogan—and one wounded—“one Augustus Hickey, an English Protestant, from Templemartin,” who was shot through the thigh. Dermot, however, was soon compelled to

submit.* The very next day, Poulnalong (Shippool), which was owned by Patriek Roche (Fitz Richard), the senior representative for Kinsale, surrendered without firing a shot.

During these proceedings, the garrison stationed at Kilgobban—another of Mac Carthy Reagh's castles—having heard what was going on up the river, and being informed that the Bandon men were now marching against themselves, thought it dangerous to await their arrival. Accordingly, they evacuated their post, making hot haste for the interior in the very nick of time. Meanwhile, notwithstanding all they had to contend with at home, the Parliament of England were by no means forgetful of the Irish Protestants. Heartily espousing their cause, they not only voted briskly for their relief, but exerted themselves in other ways for the preservation of the kingdom. They first issued an order "to apprehend and examine all such suspected Papists as were going to Ireland." Their next care was to intercept all arms, ammunition, money, and corn intended for the use of the rebels; and, also, they gave orders "for sending back or prosecuting such wandering Irish Papists as had lately landed in the west." Soon after, a complaint was brought before Parliament, "That, notwithstanding this order, several Papists had been licensed by the king to transport themselves to Ireland, who, immediately on landing, had joined the rebels; and that Colonel Butler, Sir George Hamilton, Lord Delvin, and others were in the list of these offenders." To this his majesty replied, that he was not aware of the order of the house; and, though the parties licensed were

* Some of the cannon-shot fired during the attack were found, about sixty years ago, in clearing away some of the ruins.

Papists, he had no reason to believe that they would join with the insurgents.

On the 19th of May, Colonel Brocket landed at Kinsale, with four hundred and sixty men of Sir John Paulett's regiment of foot.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BANDONIAN MARCH ON COOLMAIN CASTLE—THEY TAKE KILBRITTAIN—KILBRITTAIN CASTLE—THE WHITE WEASEL—HOW TO TREAT A CLOWNISH CURMUDGEON—DEATH OF THE LORD PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER, ST. LEGER—LORD MUSKERRY, THE REBEL CHIEFTAIN, APPOINTED TO THE VACANT POST BY THE KING—LORD INCHQUIN APPOINTED BY THE PARLIAMENT—CASHEL STORMED—THREE THOUSAND PRIESTS AND GENTLEMEN PUT TO THE SWORD—AT A SESSION HELD IN YOUGHAL, IT WAS FOUND THAT EIGHT NOBLEMEN AND ELEVEN HUNDRED GENTLEMEN CONNECTED WITH THIS COUNTY ALONE HAD JOINED IN THE REBELLION—GENERAL BARRY'S ARMY RETURNS AFTER TAKING LIMERICK—THE BATTLE OF LISCARROLL, "WHERE, NOBLY FIGHTING IN DEFENCE OF LAW AND ORDER, FELL THE FIRST GOVERNOR OF BANDON"—SIR CHARLES VAVASOR APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF BANDON—THE RELIEF OF RATHBARRY CASTLE—TWO COMPANIES OF LORD FORBES'S REGIMENT CUT TO PIECES IN CLONAKILTY—OPPORTUNE ARRIVAL OF THE REST OF THE FORCE—TIMOLEAGUE BURNED BY LORD FORBES—CRUEL CONDUCT OF RICHARD CONDON AT COOL—ORIGINAL LETTERS OF LORDS CORK AND INCHQUIN CONCERNING BANDON.

On the 29th of May, the Bandon men marched against the Castle of Coolmain, and compelled it to surrender. Kilbritten,* the chief fortress of Mac Carthy Reagh, was also taken. Here a copy of the oath administered to the rebels was found in a trunk, which had been left behind by the garrison.

When intelligence of the capture of his favorite castle reached Mac Carthy Reagh next day, at a rendezvous of the rebels at Killavarrig wood, "he seemed much displeased, and went a little apart from his company, and sat him down under a bush a pretty space of time, and no man, in regard of his discontent, spoke anything

* Kilbritten—Cill Britain, or the "fair territory."

to him ; but, at length, some gentlemen of the county pulled him by the cloak, and said, ‘ Come, come ; let us take horse.’ Whereupon Mac Carthy arose, and called for his horse.”*

Kilbrittain Castle was built by one of the De Courcys, Lords of Kinsale, to which family the manor of Kilbrittain belonged for a long time before the Mac Carthys became possessed of it ; for we find, by a composition of Walter de la Haye, the King’s Escheator of Ireland (*temp.* Edward I., 1295), that the manor of Kilbrittain and Ringroan, with the mills, fisheries, &c., thereof ; also the lands of Holderness, Liffyrim, &c.—which, upon the death of John de Courcy, who was slain in A.D. 1295 in the island of Inchydunny, had been seized into the king’s hands—were restored by said Walter de la Haye, on a composition of twelve pounds twelve shillings per annum, to James Keating, in trust for the use of the said John, Lord de Courcy. It is stated that the way the Mac Carthys became owners was in consequence of one of the De Courcys having borrowed a white ferret from one of them ; and, in order to secure the animal’s safe return, he permitted Mac Carthy to hold his castle and lands as a guaranty for the fulfilment of his promise : but, the ferret having died, he was unable to keep his word, and this accident gave to Mac Carthy a pretext for keeping permanent possession. About the year 1535, Thomas Laverouse, afterwards Bishop of Kildare, escaped to this castle,

* *Vide* examination of John Mac Teige Crowley, of Clancool-beg. Some years after, the wandering chieftain again visited his beloved Kilbrittain, which was at that time in the hands of Thomas Fitzmaurice, his father-in-law, and took forcible possession of it, assigning as a reason, “ That he did so for his own safety, as he had spilt much English blood.”

with a child thirteen years old. The child was a brother of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and son of the deceased Earl of Kildare. The Mac Carthy Reagh was then dead ; but his wife, Eleanor Fitzgerald (Lord Kildare's sister, and consequently aunt to the child), still lived. Soon after, this lady married O'Donel of the North, and made it one of the articles of her agreement, that he should protect her young nephew, which he solemnly promised to do. Shortly after the marriage, they removed to Ulster ; but they were scarcely settled there when the lady was made aware that her treacherous husband had arranged to betray young Fitzgerald. She therefore sent him off privately to France, giving him one hundred and fifty gold pieces to bear his expenses. She then upbraided O'Donel with his perfidy, and told him that nothing but the preservation of her nephew could have prevailed with her to marry such a clownish curmudgeon as he ; and, seeing that he villainously endeavored to betray her in that particular, she would stay with him no longer. Accordingly she left him, and never laid eyes on him again. The castle was a large, stately building, encircled with a large *bawn*, upon the walls of which were six turrets. It was beautifully situated on a rising ground, surrounded on three sides by hills pleasantly wooded, and at the base of which the tide flowed in from the adjacent harbor of Courtmacsherry.

On the 2nd of July, the Lord President St. Leger died broken-hearted at his house in Doneraile. Too much thought for the morrow was the malady that killed him. The difficulties in which the country was involved had depressed his spirits, and undermined his constitution. With rebellion raging all round him, and

little hope of succor from England—which itself was the battle-field of parties—his firmness forsook him, and he sank into a slough of despond. Out of this he never rose, but continued still to sink, till the weight upon his mind bowed his body to the grave. As long as health continued, “he was as active as the humblest man in his army, doing the duty of a private soldier, as well as that of a careful general.” Upon his death, the lords justices appointed Lord Inchiquin (Murrough O’Brien) his successor. Ludlow says, the king gave the vacant presidentship to Lord Muskerry, the rebel chieftain, which Inchiquin took so ill, that he was easily induced by Lord Broghill to declare for the Parliament, who thereupon confirmed his appointment as president. He afterwards served with much zeal against the Irish, taking from them great store of plunder, and not sparing even his own relations, the O’Briens, when found arrayed against the state, but hanging them all indiscriminately. Having assembled an army, he marched against Cashel, which, having stormed, he put three thousand priests and gentry to the sword. Some of the former were dragged to execution from under the very altar. This was undoubtedly a very cruel act; but, in those desperate times, a short, sharp, and decisive policy was considered indispensable.

In fact, to such an extent had high treason and rebellion prevailed at this period, that at a quarter sessions held at Youghal—the Earl of Cork presiding as *custos rotulorum*, and assisted by his three sons, Dungarvan, Broghill, and Kinalmeaky, and his son-in-law, Lord Barrymore—no less than eight noblemen and eleven hundred gentlemen connected with this county alone were indicted for being engaged in actual rebellion.

The noblemen were Lords Roche, Mountgarret, Ikerim, Muskerry (the king's lord president), Dunboyne, Castleconnel, Baron Loughmore, and the son and heir of Lord Cahir. Amongst the gentry were Richard Butler, of Kilcash; Randal Oge Hurley, Ballinacarriga; Mac Carthy Reagh, of Kilbrittain; Sir Robert O'Shaughnessy, of Timoleague, &c.

When the rebellion broke out, there were in the whole province of Munster but four companies of foot, consisting of one hundred men each—viz., the lord president's, Lord Baltinglass's, Captain Philip Wenman's, and Captain Charles Price's—and seventy-two horse (carbineers) under the command of Captain Peasley. As soon as the insurrection became general, the lord president raised one thousand foot; and Lords Broghill and Kinalmeaky, Sir Percy Smith, and Captain Broderick raised one hundred men each. There were also two troops of horse brought over from England, each consisting of one hundred men. One of these was under Lord Inchiquin's orders, and the other under Captain William Jephson. In addition to this cavalry force, the Lords Barrymore, Kinalmeaky, and Broghill raised, each of them, a troop of sixty horse, and Dunganvan one of a hundred, which they maintained for a long time at their own expense.

On the 20th of August, the Irish army, under General Barry, returned to the county. It consisted of a body of seven thousand foot, five hundred horse, and a large train of artillery which they captured at Limerick, including one battering piece of such large dimensions, that it took twenty-five yoke of oxen to remove it. With this force, the castle of Sir Philip Perceval, of Lisscarroll, was attacked; and, subsequently, they de-

terminated on taking Liscarroll itself. This place was fortified both by nature and art, having a covered way well flanked and palisaded, and a strong intrenchment in the nature of a crown-work. Notwithstanding this, it was so vigorously assailed by the Irish, that, on the 2nd of September, it was forced to succumb after a stout resistance of thirteen days. Meanwhile, Lord Inchiquin assembled his scattered forces, and arrived at Liscarroll on the 3rd of September. His army amounted to only two thousand foot and four hundred horse, but with these he fearlessly attacked the Irish, consisting of seven thousand foot and five hundred horse. The battle was fought in a field to the west of the castle. In the Irish army were Lords Roche, Muskerry, Ikerim, Dunboyne, Castleconnel, and Brittas, also General Barry and Captain Stephenson, grandson of the Stephenson who fought so well against the Earl of Desmond in the time of Queen Elizabeth. On the English side were Lords Barrymore, Dungarvan, Kinalmeaky, Broghill, and Mr. Francis Boyle, afterwards Earl of Shannon. The last four were sons of the great Earl of Cork. The Irish foot were drawn up in three equal divisions. The right wing was posted near a fortification, which they had thrown up on the hill, and which was well defended by men armed with hand-shot. Their left was near the castle, within half musket-shot of another work, within which was the artillery to protect them. Between these, and a little behind, stood their main body, consisting mostly of pikemen. Their horse stood together, near their right, on the brow of the hill. To draw them from this advantageous position, Lord Inchiquin advanced with a party of horse, against whom the Irish detached a strong

force. Whilst endeavoring to carry out this design of Inchiquin's, Lord Kinalmeaky, who accompanied him, was struck in the neck with a shot from behind one of the hedges, and killed on the spot. Thus, nobly fighting in defence of law and order, fell the first Governor of Bandon. Inchiquin, finding the Irish not willing to give up their post, advanced on them with his whole army, and commenced the attack with his horse, which was very near ending disastrously; for the first rank, having fired their carbines, wheeled round to the rear, and those who were behind, mistaking this movement for flight, gave way in confusion. Inchiquin was thereby left engaged with the enemy; but, though the odds were against him, he fought vigorously, and slew Captain Stephenson, one of his opponents. He was, however, himself wounded very severely in the head and hand, and would undoubtedly have been killed had not Captain Jephson opportunely arrived to his assistance. The enemy's right wing, seeing the disorder into which the cavalry were thrown, advanced against the foot commanded by Colonel Myn, who gallantly repulsed them. The English horse, perceiving this, rallied and made a second attack on the Irish horse, who valiantly held their ground for a time, but at last they fell back, and began to fly; upon which their right wing became discouraged, and soon followed their example. In the meantime, Sir Charles Vavasor, with six hundred foot, attacked the Irish left wing, and drove them out of the fort into a neighboring bog, where they were followed by the third division; and, had it not been for a mistake made at this time by Inchiquin, who unfortunately attacked a portion of his own forces, not a man of the Irish would have escaped.

As it was, there were seven hundred of them killed, three pieces of artillery taken, twenty-six colors, three hundred muskets, and three barrels of gunpowder. The death of Lord Kinalmeaky so incensed the English, that no quarter was given, save to Colonel Butler and one or two others. His lordship's body was recovered by his youngest brother Francis, a spirited youth of nineteen, who encountered great risk in the attempt; and it was buried in the family burial-place at St. Mary's, Youghal, with due military honors. His company of foot was conferred on young Francis, who had so bravely won his spurs in recovering the body; and his troop of horse was given to Dungarvan, the eldest of the four brothers who fought so nobly on this well contested field. Sir Charles Vavasor was appointed Governor of Bandon on the death of Kinalmeaky.

In the beginning of October, Lord Forbes, with his regiment, landed at Kinsale, and marched to Bandon, where he was joined by three companies of the Bandon foot, together with some horse. On the 18th, he set out for Rathbarry Castle to relieve Captain Freke, who, ever since the 14th of the previous February, had been closely blocked up by the rebels in Carbery. The Bandon men were under the command of Vavasor, their governor, jointly with Captain Jephson, and Forbes's own regiment was led on by himself. On their arrival in Clonakilty, two of the Scotch companies under Captain Weldon, and one of the Bandon under Captain Groves, were left in charge of the town, whilst the rest of the force proceeded to Rathbarry. Scarcely were they well gone when an immense body of the Irish arose on all sides, and rushed upon the little garrison. Seeing this, Captain Groves advised a retreat

towards their main body, which the Scots refused, as if it savored of cowardice; but they suffered very severely for their rashness, their commander being soon killed, and his two companies cut to pieces. As for Captain Groves and his valiant Bandonians, they cut their way through the dense masses of the enemy to an old Danish *rath*, that lay a full mile from them on the road to Rosscarbery, where they desperately held their ground till Lord Forbes and his party returned, which they soon after did, bringing with them Captain Freke and the brave little garrison of Rathbarry. Then, joining their forces, they all fell together upon the Irish, forcing them into the island of Inchydonny, where, the tide being at high-water mark, six hundred of them, at the least, were either killed or drowned.* The victors, returning to Clonakilty, arrived just in time to relieve a great number of men, women, and children, who were imprisoned in the market-house expressly for the purpose of being burnt, together with the house, by way of a bonfire for the easy victory they promised themselves over the rest of Lord Forbes's little party.

On returning to Bandon, his lordship does not seem

* In another account, we read that only two hundred and thirty-eight were destroyed on this occasion, and that amongst the latter were seventeen children, who were taken by the legs, and had their brains beaten out against the walls.—*Coll.* From the same authority we also extract, that, in 1641, at Bandon-bridge, the garrison there tied eighty-eight Irishmen of the said town back to back, and threw them off the bridge into the river, where they were all drowned. This is evidently a mistake. The Bandonians did nothing until '42; and, in all the voluminous depositions which we have read in connection with Bandon at this period, we have not seen the slightest reference to any such event; and Sir Richard Cox, in mentioning it, says he had conversed with people who had been in Bandon throughout the whole time, and they never even heard of it. We have no doubt it refers to the battle fought by Captain Taffe and his Bandonians against the apostolic vicar in Carbery, when the forces of the latter were driven into the Bandon river, where that number probably perished.

to have done anything more, save besieging the castle of Sir Robert O'Shaughnessy, and burning the adjoining town of Timoleague, after which he embarked his troops, and set sail for the Shannon. These small victories in this locality were, however, considerably overbalanced by successes of the rebels elsewhere in Munster. The strong Castle of Limerick was obliged to surrender to them, and also the Castles of Askeaton and Castlematrix. Cloughleigh and Cool also succumbed to their victorious arms. The former contained a pretty large garrison, to whom Richard Condon promised quarter, and also protection as far as Castle Lyons. Upon this they surrendered; but they were all either killed or made prisoners. In Cool there were thirty-six of Lord Barrymore's troopers, to whom the same Condon promised quarter upon the faith of a soldier and a Christian; but this Irish Nena Sahib was neither the one nor the other; and, when the poor troopers came forth, he ordered them to be murdered. One alone survived the massacre, and he, after receiving six and thirty wounds, was left for dead among the rest. During the remainder of the winter, and until the following spring, nothing further was done for want of necessaries.

Towards the close of this year (1642), the Bandonians were hard pressed through want of almost everything, and they forwarded a petition to that effect to Lord Cork through Inchiquin, the lord president. For Inchiquin's accompanying letter, as well as Lord Cork's reply, we are indebted to the Rev. Samuel Hayman, the able historian of Youghal. As neither of these interesting documents has been previously before the public, or even published in any shape, we have much pleasure in laying them before our readers.

"From the Earl of Inchiquin, Lord President of Munster, to the Right Honno^{ble} my very good Lord, the Earl of Cork, these :

"MY GOOD LORD,—I did formerly write to Will Dobbins that hee should send one third part of the provisions thither, and, sithence that, I have not, upon my word, given him any countermand or other direction; but, indeed, I must needs applaud the error of sending the last provisions wholly hither, in regard of the extreme great distress wee are in, having not one weekes [illegible] heere, whereas I am confidant that garrison hath a months, although not forth of England. The garrison of Bandon also had bin greatly distressed, and the souldiers famished, if the tounne had not advanced a matter of three score pounds for their relief; and now I find that the tounne is no less necessitous than the souldiers. They petieon that yo^r lo^{ps} rents may be made stay of, and applyed to the releif and maintenance of that impoverished place, whereto I shall desire yo^r lo^{ps} resolucon. I have not granted warrants for removall of any victuall thence, but for two small prop . . . to Tristram Whitcomb and Rob^t Southwell, of Kinsale; nor shall I in the future, but in case of extreme exigency, give way to the removall of any.

"I cannot bee informd of any butter exported hence, but by one Roch, w^{ch} was such as was not at all eatable, being of above one years gathering, and dissolved into meere grease, of w^{ch} I had good assurance, and caused a p^rfect view to bee made of it before permission was given thereunto, w^{ch} was done by my Lo^d Barrymore and mee. I should have bin very gladd to have had yo^r lo^{ps} sense of the tobacco bisness, whether it had bin with or against our conclusions; for I must assure yo^r lo^p our chief ground and motive of doing what is resolved upon is only our necessity, and the apparent danger of rayne wee are in, yet it is not unseconded with many other reasonable and justifiable inducem^{ts}.

"I shall speedily send Mayor Appleyard a commission and directions touching that business, unto w^{ch} I shall desire yo^r lo^p to contribute what you may. In the mean tyme, I take leave to remayne

"Yo^r lo^{ps} most humble servant,

"INCHIQUEINE.

"CORK, xxiii. Nov., 1642."

This was endorsed by the Earl of Cork as follows :

" 24 NOVEM., 1642.

" Ffrom the Lord Inchiquin touching the making stay of my rents in Bandon for the reliefe of that place, the lycence wth he granted for butter, the tobacco bisness, and other things, wth a branch off my l^r in answer thereof."

In Lord Cork's reply, which we now give, he writes in very uncomplimentary terms of the Bandon people. The loss of his income undoubtedly entailed the loss of his temper, otherwise he would never have written as he has about men who lost nearly everything they had in upholding the English interest in this country, and of whom he subsequently speaks as the inhabitants of Bandon-bridge, "whom I have ever much tendered and respected."

" The Earl of Cork to the Earl of Inchiquin, Lord President of Munster.

" MY LORD,—I am glad that the the tounsmen of Bandon-bridge did relieve the garrison there wth three score pounds, which was no hard matter for them to doe, considering all the neighboring English that fledd thither for reliefe, and brought their goods and cattle thither, were inforced to sell them to the inhabitants at such low rates as they were pleased to give for them. And there was none of the country that fledd thither for succour and safetie, but they were compelled to give more rent for their chamber or corner than my tennants paid me for the whole house; and wthall, to ease themselves, they laid the burthen of dyeting and billeting the soldiers upon those distressed people that came thither for refuge, whereby they were freed, and enriched themselves, and made booty of the wealth of their poor neighbours. And if I had not, with the expense of many thousand pounds—the greater part whereof came to their purses for feeding of workmen—walled and fortified that place, the inhabitants thereof might have been subject to as great affliction and misery as those that are compelled to fly thither for succour; but it seems they are forgetful of what, to the impoverishment of myselfe, I have done for them : for I doe confidently avow

this great truth unto yo^r lo^p that, scince my coming out of England, I have not one penny rent, neither out of that toune nor all the western lands I have. What rents my son Kinalmeaky got of them, he spent and left amongst them with his liffe. My charge is, and hath been, extraordinary great in mayntaying myselfe and children, and in raysing, arming, and paying three companies, as till of late I have done, and in weekly paying them now in ready money twelve pence a man, wthout which weekly supply I cannot contayne them. My revenue is gone, and money I have none left; and it is an unheard of boldness in them to petition yo^r lo^p that my small rents should be made stay of, and applyed for their reliefe, and myselfe to be in wante, in which particular yo^r lo^p requires my resolucon, whereunto my necessities will not suffer me to condissend. And I know yo^r lo^p is just and reasonable, as you will not advise me to spare that little contemptible revenue which I have in the walls of that toune, when all my lands and estate are wasted; and I, in effect, have very little or nothing else to relieve myself, my children,* and family wthall. And, therefore, I hope yo^r lo^p will rather reprehend this their unexampled presumpon, than any way incline or listen thereunto.

“In confidance whereof, I take leave, and remain

“Yo^r lo^{ps} humble servant,

“R. CORKE.

“YOGHALL, 27 Novem., 1642.”

* Notwithstanding his affection for his children, for all of whom he amply provided, yet the great earl complained of a want of reciprocity—in one of them at least. Writing to his eldest son, Lord Dungarvan, he says, “And indeed, Dick, in my best understanding, I must needs tell you, you have the best father in the world, that taketh this care, and maketh such provision for you as I have done; and, therefore, let me advise you not to slight or neglect me, as, scince your coming into England, you have hitherto done.”—*Gibson's Hist. Co. and City of Cork.*

CHAPTER VIII.

CONFIDENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN BEING ABLE TO CRUSH THE REBELLION—COMMISSIONERS SENT TO BANDON TO INQUIRE INTO THE LOSSES SUSTAINED BY THE SETTLERS—THE EVIDENCE TAKEN BY THEM—INTERESTING REVELATIONS—THE NAMES OF SEVERAL GENTLEMEN THAT ACCOMPANIED LORD MUSKERRY, WITH THEIR FOLLOWERS, TO THE SIEGE OF CORK—THE ABBOT OF KILCREA STATES, “THERE WILL BE NO PEACE UNTIL THE ENGLISH CONQUER, OR WE CUT OFF ALL THE ENGLISH AND PROTESTANTS”—A HATTER GIVES THE NAMES OF SEVERAL IRISH CHIEFTAINS THAT WERE INDEBTED TO HIM—TEIGE CARTY, OF BANDON-BRIDGE, WAS NOT ONLY A REBEL, BUT A BROGUE-MAKER—TEN POUNDS AND A CABIN TO TURN PAPIST—A LONG LIST OF GENTLEMEN “NOW OUT IN ACTUAL REBELLION”—A CONVERSATION AT LORD MUSKERRY’S DINNER-TABLE—WHAT MISS GORDON WITNESSED AT KILBRITTAIN CASTLE.

So confident were the government of being speedily able to crush the rebellion, that four months had not actually elapsed ere they sent down commissioners to Munster to make inquiries into the losses of the Protestant settlers. The commissioners who came to Bandon sat on two occasions—once in February, 1642, and then again in the October of the same year. There were two came here—Dean Grey and Archdeacon Bysse. The former died in Bandon; but poor Bysse was murdered on his way to Youghal, and all his papers and documents fell into the hands of the rebels. The latter must have spared these; for they are still extant among the manuscript collections of the Dublin University, where till lately they remained unnoticed. Cox must have thought them to be lost beyond recovery; for he tells us that it was owing to this—that is, their seizure by the rebels—that there is no full account of the losses

and murders in Munster. Through the laborious exertions, however, of a literary friend—one who, to the great interest he takes in anything connected with Bandon, adds a facility of deciphering almost illegible documents—we are now indebted for copies of all the depositions taken here; and as these are, so to speak, living witnesses of the events they record—indeed, we can fancy the deponents on the table giving their evidence, and stating upon oath how that Teige this and Donogh that are “now out with the rebels”—they bring us face to face with events that occurred over two hundred years ago. They lift up the curtain from the past, and enable us, as it were, to live through those dreadful times again.

Abbott (John), of Knockbrogan; Bandon, described as a British Protestant yeoman, deposed to losses to the extent of one thousand pounds. These include cows, horses, and a farm—of which he had fourteen years to run—at the yearly rent of nine pounds; also other farms situate, lying, and being in Castletown; and debts amounting in all to three hundred pounds. Amongst those debtors whom he represents as disabled by the rebellion, we find Luke Brady, Richard Clear, and Samuel Burchill, of Ballymoodan. He had other debtors living far to the west of Bandon, as Teige O’Crowley, of Kinneagh, Teige Deargh Mac Carthy, Thomas Haly, Daniel Crowley, and Dermod Crowley, of Fanlobbus. All the latter are stated to be “now out in the rebellion.”

Abbott (Richard), of Tullyglass, states his losses at four hundred and ninety-three pounds.

Arthur (Thomas), of the parish of Murragh, sawyer, mentions losses to the amount of fifty-four pounds.

He also averreth, that William Palmer, of Bandon-bridge, husbandman, was cruelly murdered about April last by John O'Lade, of Tullyglass, yeoman, and Donogh Mac Shane, of Kilowen, husbandman; and that William Palmer, son of the aforesaid William Palmer, was so badly wounded, that he shortly after died.

Baldwin (Walter), of Granahoonick, parish of Templemartin, gives his losses at nine hundred and thirteen pounds; "but that, having taken his wife and family to Macroom, and leaving all his cattle behind, he was unable to tell who the rebels were that drove them away." He further deposeth, that he reposed great confidence in the pretended loyalty of the Lord of Muskerry, because of his former acquaintance and familiarity with him; and that, complaints having been made to the lord president respecting the doings of the tenants and followers of his lordship, his lordship, in deponent's hearing, seemed to be very zealous for the English, and threatened to hang those who committed same, which was only in color, as, not long after, deponent observed he was making great preparations for war, together with the chief gentlemen in the country—namely, Garret Barry; Dermot Mac Teige Carty, of Inchevahilly; Owen Mac Sweeny, of Mashanaglass; Cormack Callaghan Mac Carthy; Dermot Mac Teige Carthy, of Tuohogegor; Donogh Mac Owen Mac Teige, of Drissane; Crogher O'Leary, of Clancorry; Daniel O'Leary, his brother; Donnel Mac Owen Mac Sweeny, captain of Lord Muskerry's gallowglasses; William O'Herly, of Ballyvoorney; Daniel Mac Fynne, of Auttullig, county Kerry; Florence Mac Fynne, his brother; Captain Sugane, deceased; Donogh Mac Carthy,

of Duhallow; his eldest son; and several others;—and, having brought their forces together in a rebellious and tumultuous manner, did march away to attack the loyal forces at the city of Cork.” That their army consisted of one thousand of Lord Muskerry’s men, besides all those brought by his confederates; that presently, after the defeat given to his lordship at Richfordstown, near Cork, deponent was disarmed, and detained a close prisoner for ten weeks at Macroom, and kept straight watch upon until about the 20th or 21st of July. He also deposeth, that Robert Scott, late of Nucestown, and his wife and two daughters, English Protestants, were cruelly murdered at a place near Cloughden in this county, but by whom he knoweth not. He then enumerates the names of several families—such as Hussy, Cooke, Webb, Smallman, &c.—who were all murdered about the 16th of August, by the rebels, on the road between Blarney and Cork. He also mentions his having discoursed with Mr. O’Leary, who stated, that one of their reasons for taking up arms was to support the king’s prerogative, which the Parliament, now infested with Puritanism, did daily oppose. Mr. O’Leary, moreover, stated that the robberies and murders committed by their followers were without their consent. Mr. Baldwin further averreth, that John Splaine, the Frenchman, formerly living in Bandon-bridge, a professed Protestant, has, since the rebellion, turned Papist, and brags often, to deponent’s knowledge, of killing and slaughtering the English Protestants. And also that, on the 20th of February last, having occasion to confer with Cornelius O’Linehy, a Franciscan friar and guardian of the Monastery of Kilcrea, and demanding whether we should see an end of those

times or any peace concluded, he answered, "No; for the English must conquer, or we must cut off all the English and Protestants; for God bless the king! he is on our side, and doth favor our cause;" or words to that effect.

Bernard (Francis), of Mishells, parish of Kilbrogan, deposes to losses amounting in all to one thousand six hundred and fifty-six pounds.

Boswell (Henry), *alias* Bosville, late of Callatrim, parish of Kilbrogan. Losses amounting to three hundred and forty-six pounds. He enumerates a long list of rebels as owing him money—such as Crogher Oge Crowley, of Ballymoodan, gentleman, &c.

Bennett (Jonathan), of Bandon-bridge, merchant, on behalf of himself and his two brothers, Thomas Bennett* and George Bennett, both of Baltimore Castle, deposes to losses in horses, cattle, and farming stock, and value of his lease of Lisnegrangher; also that his brothers were robbed by rebels in Muskerry, whose names deponent knoweth not.

Bennett (Rebecca), wife of Michael Bennett, of Clonakilty, now absent and sick, deposes to losses amounting to one hundred and sixteen pounds.

Burlingham (William), of Skeemanish, parish of Innoshannon, yeoman. Losses amounting to one hundred and forty-seven pounds. Also that he was robbed, at Candlemas last, by Mac Carthy Reagh, of Kilbrittain, and Patrick Roche, of Poulnalong, and their associates.

Bennett (Henry), Gallowes, parish of Kilnagross, mentions his losses at sixty pounds.

* Thomas Bennett held his castle at Baltimore for the king; but, being disgusted with the perfidy of Charles, he, in connection with Sir Hardress Waller and many others, transferred his allegiance to the Parliament.

Bathurst (Robert), Bandon-bridge, hatter, sums up his losses at two hundred and forty-six pounds. Amongst those indebted to him were :

Teige O'Connor, Downdaniel Castle.
Walter Bryant.
Donold O'Carthy, Kilbrittain.
Teige O'Wicham, Kilbrogan.
Callaghan Carty, Castlemore.
Daniel Cauty, Ballymoodan, yeoman.
Moragh Mac Shane, Brinny.
Connogher O'Crowly, Drimoleague, gentleman.

All out with the rebels. There were several Protestants, also, in his debt, amongst whom we find the names of Quarry, Stroud, Scott, Castle, Spenser, Sergeant, Hill, Gibbings, and Stanley, all from Bandon-bridge.

Beamish (John and Francis), both of Bandon-bridge, yeomen, enumerate losses to the extent of sixty pounds. They aver, that Ffynnin O'Mahony, of Desertserges, and his wife, heretofore reputed Protestants, turned Papists since the rebellion.

Berry (Mary), of Gaggin, deposes to losses amounting to one hundred and forty-eight pounds.

Bull (William), parish of Kilbrogan, was several times robbed and forcibly despoiled of his goods, to the value of seventy-five pounds.

Carey (William), of Knockegerane, parish of Ballymoodan, British Protestant, deposes to the loss of stock—such as cows, horses, &c.—worth seventy-five pounds, and corn and hay valued at twenty pounds; also that he was dispossessed of several houses and farms well improved, and held for fifty years to come, the interest of which he values at two hundred pounds.

Congdon (Marie)—wife of Robert Congdon, parish of Ballymoodan, yeoman, he being then in England—

mentions losses, caused by the rebels, to the amount of one hundred and three pounds.

Christmas (Robert), of Kilpatrick, yeoman. Losses amounting to fifty pounds five shillings.

Clerke (Edward), of Moragh parish, gentleman. Losses to the extent of six hundred and ninety-six pounds.

Dun (William), parish of Ballymoodan, states his losses at three hundred and fifteen pounds.

Danger (Giles), of Greencheny, parish of Templemartin, tanner, mentions his losses at one hundred and forty-six pounds. Amongst his debtors was one Teige Carty, of Bandon-bridge, whom he describes as a brogue-maker and rebel.

Deane (Joyce), servant to Mrs. Heazle, of Bandon-bridge, stated that she was taken prisoner by Mac Carthy Reagh and Teige O'Downy, and was stripped stark naked; that her fellow-servant, Andrew Bartram, was also taken by the same, and, after both were nearly starved to death, Andrew was brought out and hanged. She also informs us, "that she was extremely urged by the rebels to turn Papist, and promised ten pounds and a cabin, but refused. In conclusion, deponent sayeth, that she heard, the rebels say, that they fought for the king, and had the king's broad seal for what they did."

Draper (Emma), of Ballymoodan, widow, relates her losses at one hundred and eighty-five pounds; also that her house was burnt by the rebels.

Ellwell (James), Bandon-bridge, yeoman, mentions losses in cattle; also money due by—

Patrick Roche, Ballylong.

James Bayly, late of Bandon.

Daniel Mac Teige Crowley, of Barleth.

John O'Luddorke, Bandon.
 Sibill Wenford, widow.
 Walter Lane.
 Thomas Williams.
 Mac O'Murrough, Ballymoodan.

Widow Wenford and Walter Lane he expects nothing from, as being Protestants disabled by the rebellion.

Fenton (George), of Bandon-bridge, merchant, deposeth, that about the 22nd of October last, and the beginning of the present rebellion, he lost, and was despoiled of, his debts to the amount of one thousand five hundred and five pounds. Amongst those indebted to him, we find—

Rickard O'Donovan, Castle Donovan, gentleman.
 Thomas Barry, Clonakilty, gentleman.
 John Long, Mount Long, late high sheriff of the county.
 Charles Mac Teige Carthy, Balleah, gentleman.
 Dermot Mac Cormack, Kilbrogan, gentleman.
 Philip Barry, *alias* Barry Oge, Esq.
 John Mac Morris White, near Clonakilty.
 Charles Mac Carthy, Castlemore.
 Dermot Mac Teige Mac Carthy.
 Henry and Robert Prout, Ballymoodan, merchants.
 Daniel Desmond, doctor of laws, Bandon-bridge.
 Daniel Mac Sweeny.
 Donogh Oge Mac Carthy, Lehena, gentleman.
 Owen Mac Sweeny, Masha Naglass, gentleman.
 Donogh Oge Hurly, Kilbrittain.
 Daniel Gallaway, gentleman.
 Teige Norse, *alias* Carthy Tooher, gentleman.
 Fynn Hangland, Castlemore, gentleman.
 Philip O'Sullyvane, brother of O'Sullyvane (Beare).
 William O'Mellifant, Walker's Land.
 Florence Mac Carthy, Benduff.
 Fynn Mac Dermot Carthy.
 Charles Mac Carthy, Tullagh.
 Walter Oge Coppinger, Morragh, gentleman.
 Daniel O'Sullyvane, *alias* O'Sullyvane Beare, Esq.
 Thomas Coppinger, Ringolisky, Esq.

Dermod Mac Teige Mac Carthy, Ballea.
William Barry, Lislea, gentleman.
Donogh Mac Carthy, near Macroom, gentleman.
William Mac Rhandall Hurly, Ballynvard, gentleman.
John Mac Carthy, Ballygobbin, yeoman.
Charles Mac Donnell Carthy, Glanleagh, gentleman.
Richard Fitzgerald, Rostillane, gentleman.
Oge Mac Carthy, *alias* Downy, Dunmanway Castle, gentleman.
Thomas Mac Mahowne O'Hea, near Rathbarry, gentleman.
Owen Hussey, Tralee, county Kerry.

All of these Fenton describes as being "now out in actual rebellion." He had several Protestants in his books, also ; as William Jepson, Henry Goodall, Thomas Bennett, &c.

Fuller (Thomas), of Ballymoodan, yeoman, mentions the loss of eight cows, four yearlings, and four horses, of the value of twenty pounds ; household stuff, fifteen pounds ; corn in stack, ten pounds ; also two leases of lands, of which eighteen years were yet to run, by which and the improvements thereon he lost eighty pounds.

Fuller (Ralph), of Derrygarraffe, yeoman, also mentions losses.

Foord (Benedict), of Bandon, husbandman, states his losses at twenty-two pounds.

Franklin (Thomas), Bandon-bridge, butcher, states that he was robbed of one horse, and of sheep to the value of one hundred and three pounds. He had debtors, also, amongst whom were Henry Sampson, Thomas Hill, and one Robert Best, late of Kinsale, English Protestants, disabled by the rebellion. He also mentioned the benefit of his trade as a butcher, which he valued at forty pounds per annum.

Fletcher (John), of London, merchant, deposeth and saith, that, upon the 20th of June, he was conveyed to Mac Donogh's castle, where, being at supper, in the

company and hearing of Mac Donogh himself, O'Sullivan Beare, Captain Barry, and divers other gentlemen of best quality in those parts, he was discoursing with Donnell O'Sullivan, of Desmond, brother to O'Sullivan More, touching the present wars in Ireland; that said Donnell averred to him (Fletcher), that they pretended they had the king's authority for being so in arms, and that they had commissions, under his majesty's hand, for what they did; but, for his part, he had never yet seen anything to that purpose under his majesty's hand, but that he had seen a command under his hand for laying down of arms: whereat the rest of the table gnashed their teeth, and were very angry with the said Donnell for being so free in his discourse with said deponent. That the said Donnell still continues in the rebellion with the others aforesaid. Mr. Fletcher further tells us, that, being at Macroom (a castle of the Lord of Muskerry) on the 30th of June, where he had a discourse with one Charles Mac Carthy, Esq., of Castlemore in Muskerry, a near kinsman to the Lord Muskerry, the said Charles swore that, though the king's authority was pretended, yet, for his part, he never saw the least encouragement under the king's hand whereby they should be invited to take up arms. Deponent being, on the 12th of July, at Kilerea—a castle in Muskerry, where he was conveyed by the rebels—he had a discourse with one Captain Donnell O'Leary, a captain under Lord Muskerry. The said Donnell said he hoped for relief out of Spain or France, whereupon deponent demanded if they expected any foreign protection, O'Leary having told him before that they were all for the king. The said O'Leary then replied, that they cared not under what protection they were, so they had

but power to beat the English Puritans out of Ireland,* even if said relief came from the Turk himself.

Fleming (John), of Kilmacsimon, states his losses at one thousand one hundred and seven pounds. He mentions, that, on the 1st of November, 1641, being quartermaster to Lord Kinalmeaky, he went with a party of horse to Clonakilty, an English plantation, to fetch off the Protestants from thence with their arms, for fear of any invasion by the rebels; but, as they were coming back, one Burrowes and his wife, who were asked to accompany them, refused, trusting to their landlord, Dermot Carthy, *alias* Mac Ni Crimeen, of Kilbee, gentleman. But they were both soon after hanged by the said Mac Crimeen and his people; and the children of the said Burrowes were likewise cruelly murdered.

Fryth (Thomas), Archdeacon of Ross and a Justice of the Peace for the counties of Cork and Kerry, deposes to losses amounting in all to one thousand one hundred and twenty-six pounds. He mentions the names of a number of the rebels, and some reputed Protestants who had become Roman Catholics. Amongst the latter was the Rev. John Gardiner, of Ardfield, "who would even have turned friar, but the Papists refused to admit him."

French (Thomas), of Callatrim, parish of Kilbrogan, mentions losses to the amount of twenty-six pounds fifteen shillings.

* The Irish detested the Puritans, and the latter warmly responded. In a book published in London by one of them, in 1647, it is stated, "That the Irish, anciently called 'Anthropophagi,' or man-eaters, have a tradition amongst them, that, when the Devil showed our Saviour all the kingdoms of the earth and their glory, he would not show him Ireland, but reserved it for himself; and that he hath kept it ever since for his own peculiar service, and that he intended it for his son and heir, the pope."

Gordon (Valentina), a Scottish Protestant, late of Bantry, deposeth, that, about thirteen weeks before Kilbrittain Castle was taken, she was captured by Mac Carthy Reagh near Clonakilty, on her way to Kinsale, and carried to Kilbrittain, where she was stripped of her clothing, and confined in a dungeon, having nothing to clothe her but her smock in that inclement season. She further avers, that, were it not for Mac Carthy's arrival, she would have lost her life. As for the man taken with her (one Banks, a tailor), he was hanged by Mac Carthy's followers the same day. During the time of her imprisonment, several Protestants were hanged in Kilbrittain by Mac Carthy and his followers, eight of whom were men—as Gowse Gardiner, &c.—and one woman called Margaret, a spinster, who was first half hanged, then cut down, and cruelly trodden upon by two horses, who were made to tread in and out upon her body till her bowels gushed out. This was caused to be done by Mac Carthy's corporal in his absence; but, when Mac Carthy came home, he caused him to be hanged for his labors. She also sayeth, that, when at Kilbrittain, a woman, unknown to deponent, was brought there, and, having her left breast and her nose cut off, she was let go again. During all her durance, she heard Mac Carthy say that the king was on his side,* and, therefore, he did not care for all the

* It is not surprising that Mac Carthy should have thought so. Ludlow tells us, upon undoubted authority, that, when the king heard of the murder of thousands of his Protestant Irish subjects, *he was not displeased*; and, moreover, that the Parliament earnestly pressed him for several weeks before he could be induced to proclaim their murderers even as rebels; and yet, when he was driven to proclaim them, he had only forty proclamations struck off, and, of these, only twenty were issued. But when the Scots, who committed no murders and who appeared in a righteous cause, took up arms, they were proclaimed as traitors and rebels from every parish pulpit throughout the whole of England.

English ; but, as for the Scots, he was afraid of them, for they had [illegible] in their hands ; and that he did hope to have all Ireland at his command ; and that he would make the English and the Scots fly into other countries ; and that the Lord of Muskerry, also, said the same. She also deposeth, that, as she was running away once from Kilbritten towards Kinsale, she was taken by the Lord Courcy's brother and his tenants, to the number of four. He took hold of her, and caused his men "to search her hair for letters, and withal burnt her Bible."

VALENTINA GORDON.

Coram jurat nobis, Oct. 21, 1642.

PHILIP BYSSE.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

This interesting deposition is endorsed, "Proof against Mac Carthy Reagh and Lord Muskerry."

CHAPTER IX.

SOME PARTICULARS CONNECTED WITH THE ATTACK ON DOWNDANIEL CASTLE—THE SENTRIES ON THE WALLS—HOW CORMACK MAC DONOGH MAC CARTHY WOULD HAVE SUSPENDED THE RECTOR OF KILBROGAN—INTERESTING FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE BROADCLOTH MANUFACTURE—DEPOSITIONS OF TWO OF THE PROVOSTS OF BANDON-BRIDGE—THE NAMES OF A NUMBER OF REBELS FROM BALLYMOODAN—RANDAL OGE'S AND TEIGE O'DOWNY'S OPINION OF LUTHER AND CALVIN.

GLANURE (JOHN), of Enniskean, husbandman, states his losses at eighty-three pounds; also that he and Cobb were taken prisoners; and that Humphrey Crowley and Philip O'Coughlan, formerly Protestants, had turned rebels.

Gates (Anne), *alias* Barber, of the Bog, in the parish of Kilbrogan, widow, mentions her losses; also that her husband, John Barber, late deceased, and his son William, were stripped by the rebels in February last.

Holland (Hanora)—wife of John Holland, of Enniskean, blacksmith—examined September 24, gives particulars of losses to the amount of fifty-nine pounds, besides the loss of her husband's trade, which, before the rebellion, was worth ten pounds per annum. She also states that her father was murdered by the rebels in midsummer last.

Harte (Andrew), of Desert, husbandman, states his losses at seventeen pounds. He mentions that two of those that robbed him were Irish rebels.

Humphreys (William), of Bandon, husbandman, states his losses at thirty pounds ten shillings; also that he is informed, that some of his cattle were in the possession of Mac Carthy Reagh.

Hodnett (Mary), of Burran, lived at Kilbrittain Castle in the beginning of the rebellion, where she saw four persons hanged, amongst whom was a servant-boy belonging to Mr. Thomas Fuller, of Bandon-bridge.

Hickey (Augustus), an English Protestant, late of Shanloghane, parish of Templemartin, yeoman, mentions his losses at two hundred and eighteen pounds; that in April last, when the Lord of Kinalmeaky besieged the Castle of Downdaniel, the undernamed persons, English Protestants, were killed, and shot out of the castle: one Coleman, husbandman, John Moakes, cooper, and John Wood, farmer—all of Kilbrogan; and, at the siege of Carriganass, Henry Trands, of Kilbrogan, a husbandman; also that deponent himself was shot through the thigh out of said castle.

Hazell (Anne), of Bandon, parish of Kilbrogan, widow, deposes that, at Candlemas last, she was robbed and dispossessed of goods and chattels to the value of one hundred and ten pounds, of which she was despoiled by the rebels belonging to Mac Carthy Reagh and Teige O'Downy.

Hull (Sir William), of Scull, mentions losses amounting to the large sum of seven thousand six hundred and seventy-nine pounds, besides the value of his lands in fee, which produced him one hundred and eighty-three pounds per annum. Interest in leases and income from mortgages, he estimates at one thousand and sixty-eight pounds yearly. Under the head of "Losses at Bandon-

bridge," he gives us an insight into the value of cattle and horse-flesh in those days, viz. :

One sorrel horse, value £30	One black nag, value . . £3
One black gelding . . . 20	Five oxen 20
One dun gelding . . . 20	Three oxen 9
One gray nag 3	Two cows 5
One bay gelding 8	

Haynes (William), of Bandon-bridge, shoemaker, lost debts due by Charles Mac Carthy, of Castlemore, Edward Mac Sweeny, Donnell O'Reardan, William Barry, near Timoleague, and other rebels. He also deposeth, that, on the 22nd of September last, deponent, with others, was watching upon the walls of the town of Bandon-bridge, and saw four or five houses burning near the said town, about twelve o'clock at night, by means of the rebels; but their names he knoweth not. Sworn October 22, 1642.

Howard (Daniel), of Bandon-bridge, husbandman, deposes to half a dozen houses being burnt on him. His total losses he mentions at two hundred and forty-seven pounds.

Hake (Tristram), of Kilpatrick, yeoman, states his losses at two hundred and thirty-six pounds eighteen shillings.

Hammett (John), of Kilbrogan, yeoman, computes his losses at two hundred and fourteen pounds.

Jagoe (Bridget), of Cahergall, East Desert, mentions losses to the extent of two hundred and thirty-nine pounds; also that Cormack O'Crowly and Garret Arundel, gentlemen, forcibly took away her cattle; that her husband was murdered on the highway, coming from Kilbrittain to Bandon-bridge; and that her children

were stripped by Teige O'Canty, a gentleman from Cloghenasbeg.

Jones (William), of Kilbrogan, yeoman, deposes that, about Candlemas last, he was robbed of goods and chattels to the value of two hundred and sixteen pounds—such as cows, horses, tanned hides, and bark; also a farm, mill, and tanyard; that, by means of the present rebellion in Ireland, he was despoiled of the aforesaid farm, together with the tanyard, mill-house, barn, stable, and a parcel of land thereunto belonging, wherein he hath a term of eight years, and worth above the landlord's rent seven pounds. He further saith, that Dermod Mac Teige Mac Carthy, about the time above specified, turned deponent out of his house, and possessed himself of all his goods.

February 23, 1642.

THOMAS GREY.

PHILIP BYSSE.

HIS
WILLIAM X JONES.
MARK.

Langton (John), Bandon, parish Kilbrogan, gentleman, deposeth that he and one Henry Turner were dispossessed and driven from the use and profit of a ploughland, called Tereven, held for thirty-one years, which they had in custody, by virtue of administration granted them from the diocese of Cork, on behalf of the children of Mathew Rufin, estimated at five pounds per annum over the landlord's rent. On his own account, he enumerates losses to the amount of four hundred and seventy-four pounds. He also tells us that his tenant, Roger Bennett, was dispossessed of his house, for which he paid him thirteen pounds a year over the landlord's rent. There was money due to him to the amount of three hundred pounds. Amongst

those indebted to him, we find the names of Chonock, Bryan, Trenman, Oliver, Recroft, Sanders, &c.

Langdon (John), Bandon-bridge, merchant, states losses to the amount of five hundred pounds. Several of those in his debt, he represents as being now out in actual rebellion, as :

Randal Oge Hurley, Ballinacarriga Castle.

Dermot Mac Carthy, Carriganass Castle.

James Mullane, Bandon, gentleman.

Teige Mac Carthy, Carriganass.

Edward Mac Carthy, Bantry.

Milner (Robert), of Silly Point, near Kinsale, deposes to the loss of his benefice of Rincurran, worth one hundred pounds per annum ; also to the murder of his proctors and of two Kinsale men.

Nicholet (Charles), of Bandon-bridge, parish of Ballymoodan, clerk. Losses to the amount of two hundred pounds, amongst which were the benefits arising from a lease of which there were twenty years yet to come, and worth above the landlord's rent thirteen pounds ten shillings per annum. In addition to this, he mentions the loss of his prebend, near Clonmel, county Tipperary, which he estimated at the yearly value of forty pounds.

O'Coughlane (Dermot and Teige), of Innoshannon, maltsters. Amount of losses, two hundred and twenty-four pounds.

Poole (Samuel), of Knocknamesle, parish Ballymoodan, white-leather tanner, averreth that, about Candlemas last, he was robbed of horses and cows to the value of six pounds ; of skins, wool, and woote, valued at seven pounds ten shillings and fivepence ; was expelled from his house and farms, worth twenty pounds above

the landlord's rent of nine pounds per annum. He also informs us, that he lost twenty pounds by John Woods, Robert Stowers, and Jeremy Welply, Protestants, disabled by the rebellion.

Poole (Thomas), of Bandon, parish Kilbrogan, yeoman. Losses in cattle, debts, &c., at one hundred and thirty-four pounds. He mentions that Teige Mac Donnell Mac Mahowne, of Kilbrogan, one Shea, of Kilmalooda, and others, were indebted to him; also the loss of his freehold estate of Knocknamesle, Knocknegillagh, and Mulneridor, which he computes as being worth forty pounds per annum.

Popham (John), of Bandon-bridge, mentions losses amounting to forty-two pounds.

Rubie (Thomas), of the parish of Murragh, states losses; also that John Weekes and his mother were killed by Thomas Mahony, near Bandon-bridge, as deponent hath heard.

Radcliffe (Judith)—wife to Richard Radcliffe, late wife to William Cobb, yeoman—deposed to losses by the said Cobb, amounting to one hundred and thirteen pounds ten shillings; that the said William Cobb, about Candlemas last, was taken prisoner by Mac Carthy Reagh and Teige O'Downy,* and, being stripped, was kept prisoner, until, at the end of ten days, he effected his escape, and fled for refuge to Bandon-bridge. She further averreth, that, from the ill usage he received at Kilbrittain, he died in eight weeks after.

Richardson (William), of Castletown, clothier, states his losses at one hundred and forty pounds.

* Teige O'Downy was the last of the Mac Carthys of Glawnacrimme, parish of Fanlobbus, a family noted for their hospitality. In addition to Glawnacrimme, he had another castle at place called Togher.

Saunders (Samuel), Derrycool, yeoman, mentions losses to the amount of one hundred and fifty-four pounds; that John Oge O'Mahowne, of Kilbrogan, yeoman, and Donogh Mac Donogh, the said O'Mahowne's brother-in-law, took away his cattle.

Snary (John), of Bandon-bridge, clerk, Rector of Kilbrogan, deposes, that he lost, and was despoiled of, goods to the value of fifteen pounds. [That about the first of February, 1634, he possessed his majesty's gracious patent of the rectory of Kilbrogan aforesaid; and, being duly possessed of the same for one year, he was, after a rebellious manner, molested by one Cormack Mac Donogh Mac Carthy, of Courtbrack, gentleman, and now rebel, until he was again established by an order from the Lords of the Council. His losses consequent upon this affair he computes at four hundred pounds at the very least.]* That about the 9th of June, 1641, the said Cormack, with four of his men, came into the glebe-land of deponent, and feloniously took away from thence four cows and one foal of the proper goods of deponent, and detained them for ten weeks, until they were restored by order of the judge of assize; that said Cormack, with one Anthony Canty and others of his servants, protested that, before Christmas Day last, they would not leave him one beast, and that they had authority from his majesty to displace him and all other English ministers, and to place in such as they liked, and that he would lay his life he should shortly see us all go to massacre and be hanged.

* What is enclosed in brackets had a pen drawn through it, the commissioners probably not conceiving it came within the bounds of their commission, they being confined to the events resulting from the rebellion.

Smith (Michael), of Moskeigh, states losses to the extent of ninety pounds. Amongst his debtors we find the names of Avery, Pickle, and Weekes, of Kilbrogan.

Shepherd (Anthony), of Bandon, parish Ballymoodan, now provost of the said town, September 24, 1642, deposes to losses by debts due to him by Robert Vine and Charles Bastable, disabled Protestants; also by O'Sullivan More, Esq., of Glanorough; Daniel Oge O'Sullivan, near Castlemayne; and by Donogh Mac Carthy, the Lord of Muskerry. The latter owed him forty-one pounds. Deponent further stated, that, in addition, he was deprived of the benefits of his trade as a clothier, which was worth to him one hundred and twenty pounds per annum.

Tresilian (Richard), of Ballydoune, parish Rincurran. Losses in stock to the value of seventy pounds; also loss of his farm, worth sixty pounds, of which he was dispossessed by Mac Carthy Reagh. That Teige O'Curtaine, late of Bandon-bridge, husbandman, formerly a Protestant, and now out in rebellion, turned Papist; and that deponent's cause of knowledge is, that said Teige hath told him so.

Turner (Henry), of Bandon-bridge, free burgess and clothier, deposes to losses of cattle and being dispossessed of farms at Clancool and Gaggin, and of houses and garden-plots situate in Sugar Lane, near North Gate, in Bandon, which were spoiled and pulled down, lest the rebels should shelter there. These he valued at thirty-five pounds per annum above the landlord's rent. Moreover, that he had a lease of these premises, of which one hundred and sixty years were yet to come; and also that, by means of this rebellion, his trading is quite decayed to the value of four hundred pounds per

annum, which he heretofore got by dealing with Mr. John Quailes, of Amsterdam, a Dutch merchant, but an Englishman, who was bound in one thousand pounds to take and receive of him, in one year and a half, five hundred broadcloths. His dealings with others he computes at one hundred per year. The debts due to him he sets down at one hundred and thirteen pounds. Some of these were incurred by people in Tralee and other parts of Kerry, but from whom he expects nothing, as some of them are slain, and the rest driven from their habitations. The total of his losses, exclusive of trading, he computes at seven hundred and seventy-four pounds.

Trenman, (Christopher), of Shinagh, parish Kilbrogan, states losses in cows, horses, and mares, to the extent of eighty-one pounds; the interest in a lease, which, before the rebellion, was worth one hundred pounds, and from which he expects to derive no benefit, until peace be settled in Ireland; household stuff, &c. The entire he sets down at two hundred and seventy-seven pounds. He also informs us, that Richard Coombes, of Bandon-bridge, and his son, were hanged "hard by the Castle of Downtaniel, but by whom he knoweth not."

Taylor (Anne), Ballymoodan, computes her losses at one hundred and seventy-five pounds. Amongst those indebted to her, she enumerates:

Daniel O'Donovan, of Castle Donovan, for £47.

Teige O'Downy, gentleman.

Rickard O'Donovan.

Daniel Nagle.

Daniel Mac Carthy.

Humphrey Mac Teige Carthy, Desert, yeoman.

Teige Mac Carthy, Derrygarraffe.

John Baylie, Bandon-bridge, yeoman.
 Nicolas Welch, laborer.
 Daniel Roche, Ballywhery, gentleman.
 Cornelius Cullane, Ballinascarthy, blacksmith.
 Benjamin O'Hara, Bandon-bridge, laborer.
 Teige O'Hea, Ahamillah, gentleman.
 Murrough O'Donovan, gentleman.

All now out with the rebels.

Woodroffe (John), of the town of Bandon, parish Ballinadee, maltster, and now provost of said town, maketh oath and saith, that, about the 12th of January last past, and since the beginning of the present rebellion in Ireland, he lost, was robbed, and forcibly despoiled of his goods and chattels, to the value of as follows :

Heifer and one colt	£16
Sword and pistol	1
Rough timber and fuel	30
Debts about	150

Concerning the latter, he states the debts were all good, until the breaking out of the rebellion, but had now become desperate. Amongst those in his books, we find the names of—

Robert Fford,
 John Hobbe,
 Thomas Trippet,
 Henry Beecher, the younger,
 Charles James,*
 John Clarke,
 Jonathan Bennett,

George Glanville,
 Moses Woodroffe,
 John Mason,
 John Collet,
 Richard Birney,
 Henry Ffrench,
 John Phillips.

* Charles James was married to Abigail, daughter of Henry Beecher, of Castle Mahon; and by him the castle, manor, and estate of Castle Mahon were sold to Francis Bernard, Esq.

These were all Protestants. The following are described as Papists, some of whom are now out in the rebellion and amongst the rebels, as :

James Mullane, the younger, late of Ballymoodan.

John Tobin, the younger, Rosscarbery.

Teige O'Key, the younger, Ballymoodan.

John Mac Teige O'Key.

Richard Mac Rhonell, the younger.

Fin Mac Carthy.

All from Ballymoodan. As regards these latter gentlemen, deponent honestly states that he doesn't expect to get a satisfactory account from any of them; that he hath lost in a fire all he lately laid out for his trade, near Bandon, to the sum of twenty pounds, besides the corn for the benefit of his malting, which deponent estimateth at sixty pounds; and further he cannot depose.

JOHN WOODROFFE.

October 22, 1642.

PHILIP BYSSE.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

Woodley (Andrew), Bandon-bridge, on behalf of his brother, Ralph Woodley, deposed to losses in debts to the amount of five hundred and thirty pounds, and to losses in cows, oxen, horses, and colts, to the value of one hundred and thirty pounds; that he was robbed by Teige O'Downy, his followers, and tenants.

Wood (William), of Cawen, Inshikeene, parish Kilmacabogue, states losses of tools, his trade, and money due to him; that Daniel Mac Owen O'Sullivan robbed him; that, about the middle of February, he was taken by Teige O'Norse's (*alias* Carthy) company near the Toher, and carried prisoner to Enniskean, and brought before Mac Carthy Reagh. He then describes how

Mac Carthy, Teige O'Downy, Reinald Oge, and Teige O'Norse, of the Toher, Reinald Oge's son, and Teige O'Downy's son Desmond, tempted him to turn Papist. They told him that Luther and Calvin were the first Protestants, and that Luther confessed on his death-bed, that it was because of some wrong the pope did him that he changed his religion, &c. He also mentions, that Captain Sugane's company murdered several persons; that one Mr. Wright, of Glanorrough, merchant, and William Seymour, of the same place, with all the Protestants of Glanorrough, to the number of four hundred, were stripped stark naked about twelve tide, whereof some, by reason of the bitterness of the season, died upon the mountains before they could come to Cork; that a certain woman, at the same time, as soon as she was stripped, was taken up by a rope under the armpits, and then beaten with their hands, and told, if she did not confess where her money was, they would hang her outright; that about two hundred men, women, and children, of Kilmacabogue, were stripped naked, and sore wounded; and that, about midsummer last, deponent was stripped naked near Bandon, wounded with twenty-seven wounds, and left for dead, but he recovered him to Bandon again. He further declareth that Rowland Field, parish Kilmacabogue, Margaret Martyn, and John Hungerford and family were reputed Protestants, but had turned Papists, and kept council with the rebels.

May 14, 1642.

BYSSR.

SOUTHWELL.

Ware (John), of Nucestown, yeoman, deposes to losses amounting to four hundred and ninety-eight pounds.

Williams (Anne)—wife of Robert Williams, of Larragh, parish Kilbrogan, butcher, states that her husband was robbed and despoiled of one horse, valued at three pounds; household goods, forty pounds; interest in lease, worth four pounds; some money due by John Mac William O'Herly, of Muskerry, gentleman, now out in the rebellion.

Warner (Randal), of Kilcoleman, gentleman, mentions many lands and leases he was despoiled of.

Waterman (Mabell), wife of Jacob Waterman of Bandon, parish Kilbrogan, mentions losses to the amount of fifty-eight pounds.

CHAPTER X.

THE NEW GOVERNOR OF BANDON—THE BATTLE AT BRINNY BRIDGE—
A RUSE DE GUERRE—OLD DROMAUN—A FRAGMENT OF AN OLD
SONG—LEASE GRANTED IN 1643 BY LORD CORK—THE ORMOND
CESSATION—NEARLY ALL THE COUNTRY HELD BY THE REBELS—
DEATH OF THE GREAT EARL OF CORK—HIS WILL—MURDER OF THE
BRAVE FISHER AND HIS GARRISON AT ANNAGH CASTLE—THE KING
VIRTUALLY SOLD—MANY PARLIAMENTARIANS DECLARE THEMSELVES
—THE CONFEDERATES SEND OUT AMBASSADORS—EXTRACTS FROM
FATHER HARTIGAN'S INTERCEPTED LETTERS.

IN the opening campaign this year (1643), Sir Charles Vavasor resigned the governorship of Bandon, and was succeeded by Colonel Rowland St. Leger. Shortly after his appointment (1st May, 1643), the Bandon and Kinsale troops of horse had fixed on a certain day to go on a foraging expedition. The rebels of Kilcrea had timely information of the matter, and, believing the troops had met as agreed on and marched out, they boldly advanced on the town, and drove away all the cattle they found outside the walls; but, fortunately, the Bandon troop, being accidentally delayed longer than they intended, were all ready, mounted, and armed, when this unlooked-for proceeding took place. Accordingly, they rushed out, overtaking the spoilers at Brinny Bridge, where their first object was to rescue the cattle, which they speedily did. They then paid their respects to the Kilcreaites, forcing them into Kilmore Bog,

where "they slew fifty of those tories,"* and came off without the loss of a man.

Soon after this, the Bandon men went on a predatory excursion on their own account, leaving behind them a guard of forty men to protect the place during their absence. The rebels from Carrigadrohid, ascertaining they were away, came out in regular order, and made straight for the town, but throwing out scouts, treading their way very cautiously, and showing that they had profited by the lesson taught their Kilcrea neighbors. When old Ralph Clear, who commanded the forty Spartans, heard of their advance, he immediately turned out his entire force, and proceeded up Barry's Walk and along the Macroon Road to meet them. He soon encountered two of the scouts, with whom he entered into friendly conversation. Upon this, they, becoming emboldened, asked him was he going to fight the Irish forces with such a handful of men. "Oh!" said he, "we are only the advanced guard of our party. The main body are gone round, so as to get into their rear, and prevent their escape;" adding, with a confident shake of the head, "that not a man of them but would be dead and comfortably damned before starlight." Seeing the effect this piece of bravado had upon his hearers, he ordered his men to halt and see to their pieces, as they would not have long to wait for the signal now. This was enough for the scouts. They quietly slipped away, and, having got out of range, ran with tremendous haste till they reached the main body, when, pale with

* The term "tory" was originally applied to the Irish who had been licensed to depart the kingdom by Cromwell, and who went abroad to reside at Spain, Flanders, and elsewhere, but, returning to Ireland without permission, engaged in lawless enterprises against the settlers and the government.

fright, they told all that they had heard. This had such an effect on the adventurers from Carrigadrohid, that they fled in consternation and in so much disorder, that, when the Bandon people arrived at the bottom of the steep hill adjoining Garteen House, they found one poor fellow lying dead upon the road, who, in his eagerness to escape, had fallen headlong and absolutely broken his neck. There were some doggerel lines composed on this affair, a few of which we have been enabled to collect:

"This gallant old sword and forty more
Made all the rebels run before;
And old Dromaun *—oh! he laughed like fun
To see the cowardly rascals run—
He saw the place where the rebel fell,
And cried, 'Here's a one that's gone to hell;
If we caught the rest, you'd plainly see
We'd send them to keep him company.'"

To show the degree of confidence that existed in Bandon of the ultimate success of the English in the rebellion, we may mention that a lease was executed, on the 23rd of May, by Richard, Earl of Cork, to Mathias Anstis, of the premises described as "situate, lying, and being in the lands of Coolfadda in the borough of Bandon aforesaid; being bounded and lying in breadth between the dwelling-house and tenement now in the occupation of Richard Hobbs, glover, on the east; and the dwelling-house and tenement in the tenure of Mathias Anstis on the west; and extending in length, from the street or highway on the north, to the river Bandon on the south." The site of the tenements herein set forth is now occupied by the chandlery estab-

* Dromaun was a nickname for old Clear, who, although he might have been a brave soldier, was evidently but an indifferent Christian.

lishment of Mr. John Giles, and the lease itself was granted upon the expiration of the original one.

On the 1st of July in this year, Colonel Myn, who behaved so well at Liscarroll, routed the Irish on the north side of Timoleague river. He afterwards took from them the Castles of Timoleague, Aghimilly, Rosscarbery, and Rathbarry. After the Ormond cessation, this brave soldier went with his regiment to England, where, on the royalist side, he was killed at Harpur field in Gloucestershire, and most of his regiment cut to pieces by the Parliamentary troops under General Massey.

On the 15th of September, a cessation of arms was agreed on between the Marquis of Ormond on the king's side, and Lord Muskerry, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Robert Talbot, and others, on the part of the Irish, to continue for twelve months. It was agreed that each party should keep possession of what they had. The arrangements for the county of Cork were as follows: a line was to be drawn from Youghal to Mogeely, thence to Fermoy on to Mitchelstown and Liscarroll, and so on to Mallow; from thence on to Cork, Carrigrohan, Rochfordstown, Bandon, Timoleague, and thence along the coast to Youghal—all outside this boundary the rebels were to retain possession of.

On the 15th of September—the date of the first cessation—Richard Boyle, the great Earl of Cork, died at the College of Youghal in the seventy-seventh year of his age. Sir Richard Cox, in summing up his character, says, “The noble Earl of Cork, Lord High Treasurer, was one of the most extraordinary men either that this or any other age produced, with respect to the great and just acquisitions of estates that he

made, and the public works that he began and finished for the advancement of the English interest and the Protestant religion in Ireland, as churches, alms-houses, free schools, bridges, castles, and towns—*vide* Lismore, Tallagh, Clonakilty, Enniskean, Castletown; and Bandon—insomuch that, when Cromwell saw these prodigious improvements in a country where he little expected to see them, he declared, ‘That, if there had been an Earl of Cork in every province in Ireland, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion.’”

On the 24th of November in the previous year, he made his will, by which he devised various properties to his third surviving son, Francis Boyle, amongst which were the following manors, rectories, lands, tenements, and hereditaments:

The gate-house, called Francis Gate, in Bandon-bridge; the manor, townlands, and mill of Ballymoodan, *alias* Ballybandon; also Cloghmaccsimon-Ffleming, and the town and lands of Rathdroughtes, Inishroe, Rinnsymon, and Garranhagher, with the mill and weirs, and the following rental:

Thomas Cole, for a messuage with shop and cellar, in Castle Street, near to my gallery, per every half year, £10 10s.

Zacharias Shortred, upholsterer, per every half year, £11; the castleport, or gate, called Francis Gate, in the walls and borough of Bandon-bridge [rental not mentioned.]

James Ellwell, for one ploughland, Knockemreough, Car-brydy, half ploughland of Cloghmaccsimon, nine acres of other land, two houses and garden, per every half year, £21 16s. 9d.; besides two fat capons, best beast, heriot, and two footmen well armed.

Edward Rashleigh, assignee of Edward Turner, for half ploughland of Knocknagee, £4; and a pound of sugar at Christmas, or 2s. 6d.; also a footman armed with a caliver.

James Daunt, house and garden, 1s.

John Vick, for Benjamin Lambert's house and garden, 15s.

Cornelius O'Fowloe, house and garden, 15s.

Widow Turner, three tenements, gardens, and five acres of land, £1 15s.

Widow Turner, sixty-six feet of ground for a messuage, 15s.; and, at Christmas, one pound of cinnamon, heriot, and a footman armed with a caliver.

Richard Hoskins, house and garden containing fifty-four feet in length, and, at Christmas, two fat capons, a heriot, &c., 13s. 4d.

Richard Randall, house and garden, 6s. 8d.

Richard Randall, for John Mac Teige's house and garden, 10s.

William Hill, house and garden, £1 2s.; besides one pound of loaf-sugar or 2s. 6d. at Christmas, heriot, and one footman armed.

Daniel Kent, house and garden, 10s.

Widow Joyce, ditto. 10s.

Thomas Radda, ditto. £1 5s.

Dermod O'Cronyne, ditto. 4s.

Widow Lewellin, ditto. 10s.

Widow Brooke, for two messuages and three-quarter acre of land, and, at Christmas, two capons or 2s. 6d., heriot, and one footman armed with a caliver.

John Luke, ten acres of a land and a heriot, £1 5s.

Thomas Corkwell, house and garden, £1 2s.

John Martyn, ditto. 10s.

Teige Mac Hugh, ditto. 10s.

Teige O'Callaghan, ditto. 5s.

Philip Mac Cragh, ditto. 6s. 8d.

John Mac Teige, ditto. 5s.

John Rake, ditto. 5s.

Henry Proute, ditto. 6s.

Gillion O'Crowley, assignee of Killyremy Donnell, 5s.

Widow Witherhead, thirteen acres of land, 11s.; and, at Christmas, one pound of sugar or 2s. 6d., heriot, and one footman armed with a pike.

Nicolas Withers, ten acres of land at Inchynicrisby, £1 5s.; and, at Christmas, two fat capons, heriot, and one footman armed.

The same, for house and garden, 13s. 4d.

Widow of Teige Mac Conogher O'Murray, for half ploughland of Carrigbrydy, 11s.; and, at Christmas, two fat capons or 2s. 6d., best beast or £1 2s., heriot, and one footman armed with a pike.

John O'Murray, eldest son of William, for half ploughland of Kilvallen, 11s. per annum, and for £10 lent him to fetch him out of prison, £1 2s.; also heriot, best beast, and one footman with a pike or musket.

William Mac Donogh More O'Murray, half ploughland of Monyrone, £1 5s.

Murrough O'Shehie, tenement and garden, £1 5s.

John Mac Teige Lodweeke, assignee of Richard Hoskins, for a messuage containing fourteen feet, 18s. 4d.; and, at Christmas, two fat capons, heriot, and one footman armed.

James Roche and Margaret, his wife, for messuage containing forty-eight feet, 12s.

The heir of Sir John Meade, for two ploughlands of Rathdoughtes, parcel of Finen Mac Owen Carthy's land, £12 10s.

Richard Mansfield, for ploughland of Inishroe and Kilmacsimon (mortgaged to me by John Ffleming for £160), £3 5s.

John Ffleming, for the mill, weirs, and several parks called Garranvragher, parcel of Kilmacsimon (mortgaged to me for £22), £1 2s.

R. CORKE.

By his will, he gave directions "that a free school, and an alms-house for six men, be erected of lime and stone, sawn timber and slate, in the place where he had caused the foundation to be dug at Bandon-bridge, and where, before the troubles, he had procured great part of the squared timber, hewn stone, and other materials, to be brought for finishing that good work, and this to be done so soon as it should please God to send peace in this kingdom." In addition to this, he also left instructions for the erection of a strong, substantial bridge, as follows: "And, for that, I much desire the good increase and prosperity of Bandon-bridge and the inhabitants thereof, whom I have ever much tendered and respected. I do therefore declare it to be my will, that there be a very strong and substantial bridge of lime and stone, with my arms cut on the stone to be set upon the wall thereof, erected over the river Bandon

within the town where the timber bridge now stands." For the overseeing of which, he entreated the provost for the time being, and other friends, to take the charge upon them, "that it might be gracefully, strongly, and substantially done, without any fault or deceitful work, as other bridges of late have been." He likewise bequeathed ten pounds per annum to the poor of Bandon, Coolfadda, and Clonakilty.

1644.—The Confederates, as they called themselves, broke most of the articles of the treaty; and the English were daily alarmed by new plots and fresh conspiracies—in particular, by a conspiracy of one Friar Matthews and others to betray the city of Cork into the hands of the Irish, for which design some were executed. Upon the discovery of this and other matters of similar intent, Lord Inchiquin was importuned by the settlers to disown the cessation. He, nothing loth, responded to their wishes, and broke the truce in Munster, just as the Scots did in the north. The English Parliament having heard what he had done, not only approved of his conduct, but rewarded him with the lord presidency of Munster. Not having, however, received any supplies from England, he was unable to do much for the remainder of the year.

1645.—In the beginning of this year, whilst Inchiquin still stood on the defensive, Lord Castlehaven took the field at the head of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, and reduced most of the strongholds in the county, as Mitchelstown, Ballyhooly, &c. This series of successes produced such an effect, that Liscarroll, though in the best posture possible for defence, surrendered to the enemy without firing a shot; but Annagh Castle, which was next attacked, was not so easily

taken ; for, being on an island surrounded by a bog, it was not easy of approach, and, besides, it was valiantly defended by its gallant commander, Fisher, who, though the castle was almost beaten to ruins about his ears, still held out, and, in several assaults, killed over three hundred of the enemy. Being, however, more courageous than prudent, he consented to a conference attended by three of his officers, when he was treacherously set upon and murdered in sight of his own men. They, being thus deprived of their leader, imprudently surrendered on promises of quarter ; but those who could assassinate the brave Fisher could scarcely be expected to keep faith with his men ; accordingly, they were all mercilessly put to death.

Meanwhile, the power of the English Parliament had completely superseded that of the king. After the battle of Naseby (June 14, 1645), where Charles lost his cannon, baggage, and an immense number of prisoners, he fled to Oxford in despair, and finding his victorious enemies approaching under Fairfax, and dreading lest he should be taken and led in triumph before the English people, he determined, as a native of Scotland, on giving himself up to his own countrymen, which he did. The Parliament, being made aware of this, opened a negotiation with the Scots for their prisoner ; and a sum being agreed upon, as due under the name of arrears, he was virtually *sold* for four hundred thousand pounds. The complete prostration of the royal power in England induced many of the Parliamentarians in Ireland to declare themselves. Amongst others in this county, we find the names of Sir Hardress Waller, commander of Cork city, Captain Muschamp, commandant of Cork garrison,

and Thomas Bennett, Governor of Baltimore Castle.* Kinsale Fort was commanded by Captain William Brocket, who was placed there by the Parliament in lieu of Captain Kettleby, who had held it for the king. Lord Inchiquin, having waited in vain for supplies from England, resolved to take the field without further delay. Accordingly, with one thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, he laid siege to the town of Ballymartyr (now Castlemartyr); and, in order to pay his troops, he put Barrymore and Imokilly under contribution. Ballymartyr and Rostellan Castle soon after surrendered. Castlehaven, however, soon retook the latter, and made Inchiquin's brother (Colonel Henry O'Brien) and Colonel Courtney prisoners. A strong foraging party of Castlehaven's, encouraged by this success, made an incursion into Great Island,† where Queenstown now stands; but they were overtaken by Major Power, who, with thirty horse and two companies of foot, attacked them so vigorously, that they were forced to fly, leaving behind them five hundred slain. Castlehaven soon after made amends for this loss by the capture of Connough Castle, Castle Lyons, and Lismore. The last-mentioned one was valiantly, though

* Governor Bennett was a Bandon man. His father, Thomas Bennett, came over from Berkshire towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was one of the original colonists of Bandon-bridge. He died, leaving three sons—Jonathan, Thomas, and George. Thomas (his second son) settled in Baltimore, of which corporation he was a burgess, previous to the sacking of that town by the Algerines. He was also a burgess of the Bandon corporation, having been appointed June 12, 1632, in room of Stephen Skipwith, one of the first twelve burgesses.

† The Great Island, anciently called Arda-Neimhid, was granted, soon after Strongbow's arrival, to the Barrys. It is related that a great battle was fought here, so early as A.D. 125, between Niadh Nuagat and Ængus, Monarch of Ireland, in which Niadh was victorious, and wrested Munster from the sway of his opponent.

unsuccessfully, defended by Major Power with one hundred English tenants of the first Earl of Cork. In short, at this time, Fortune, who is usually one-sided, seemed evenhanded enough and indifferent between the combatants. She fairly gave each of them a Roland for his Oliver. A lucky venture made by the English was sure to be set off by a similar run of luck to the Irish. The taking of a castle was scarcely announced, when the news of its recapture, almost as a matter of course, followed close upon its heels. All the profits arising from a victory in the one place were counterbalanced by the losses resulting from a defeat somewhere else. The only people who seemed fairly to have held the ground they gained were the men of Bandon-bridge; all the castles seized by them—Down-daniel, Poulinalong, Carriganass, Kilgobban, Kilbrittain, Coolmain, and Ballincrohur—being still in their possession.

The Confederates, at this time, felt such confidence in their stability as to send ambassadors to foreign nations. In France they were represented at various times by Mr. Rochfort, Father Hartigan, Colonel Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Godfrey Baron. They received, in return, MM. La Monarie, Du Moulin, and Talloon. They deputed to Spain Father James Talbot, and received from that country the Count of Berehaven (O'Sullivan Beare) and Don Diego de la Torres. To the pope they despatched Mr. Richard Beling and the Bishop of Ferns, and obtained from his holiness Peter Francis Scrampi and the Bishop of Firmo. Father Hartigan carried on a very extensive correspondence with the Irish Supreme Council, samples of which we subjoin from some of his reverence's intercepted letters: "That

my Lord Abbott Montague said to him in his ear, that he should write to your lordships not to trust most of the English, *even the very Catholics of whom have more national than religious thoughts;*" "that the queen, talking of Ormond, said, 'It was hard to trust, believe, or rely upon any Irishman that is a Protestant, for every such Irishman that goes to church does it against his conscience, and knows in his heart he betrays God;'" "that Ormond is a viper, and an idolater of majesty;" "that Clanricard got something from Essex, his brother-in-law, otherwise he would be for the Catholics;" "that they should write down the words uttered even at table and in conversation by Ormond, Clanricard, and Inchiquin;" "that Clanricard robs more from the Catholics than even the villainous Scots;" "that Castlehaven is rather nationally than religiously inclined;" "that the king is easy, and not to be trusted;" "that the queen will be cast upon the Irish, and therefore advises them to play the cunning workman." As regards the queen, it is but fair to state, that, in one of her letters to Lord Digby, she observes of this divine, that "many things he hath written are lies."

CHAPTER XI.

THE GLAMORGAN TREATY—JOHN BAPTISTE RINUCCINI, THE PAPAL NUNCIO, LANDS AT KENMARE—HIS ARRIVAL AT KILKENNY—CONSTERNATION OF THE PROTESTANT PARTY WHEN THEY HEARD OF THE TREATY OF GLAMORGAN—HOW IT WAS DISCOVERED—THE ORMOND TREATY—THE ACT OF OBLIVION—HEARTLESS CONDUCT OF CHARLES—THE ESTABLISHED CLERGY APPROVE OF THE ORMOND TREATY—THE REASON WHY—THE BANDONIANS ENERGETICALLY PROTEST AGAINST "SUCH PACKED TERMS OF PEACE"—FATHER WOLF AND THE SHEEP OF HIS PASTURE—A MINT ESTABLISHED IN BANDON BY LORD BROGHILL—THE BATTLE OF KNOCKNINOSS—ORMOND LEAVES THE KINGDOM.

AFTER Charles's flight from Oxford, he secretly sent over the Earl of Glamorgan to conclude a peace with his rebellious Irish subjects—those who, in fact, had all but extinguished the Protestant settlements of the country with the settlers' blood. As this treaty of peace, best known as the Glamorgan Treaty, is a document now rarely met with, we have much pleasure in laying copious extracts from it before our readers :

"Articles of agreement made and concluded upon and between the Right Honorable Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, and in pursuance and by virtue of his majesty's authority, under his signet and royal signature, bearing date at Oxford, the twelfth day of March, in the twentieth year of his reign, for and on behalf of his most excellent majesty, on the one part; and the Right Honorable Richard, Lord Viscount Mountgarret, Lord President of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, Lord Viscount Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, Alexander Mac Donnell, Nicolas Plunket, Dermot O'Brian, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Jeffery Browne, Esqs., for and on behalf of his majesty's Roman-Catholic subjects and the Catholic clergy of Ireland, of the other part.

"The Earl of Glamorgan doth grant, conclude, and agree with Lord Mountgarret, &c., that the Roman-Catholic clergy shall and may from henceforth and for ever hold and enjoy all such lands, tenements, tithes, and hereditaments whatsoever by them respectively enjoyed within this kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the three and twentieth day of October, 1641; and also other such lands, tithes, &c., belonging to the clergy within this kingdom, other than such as are actually enjoyed by his majesty's Protestant clergy."

By the second article—

"It was agreed on and concluded by Lord Mountgarret, &c., that two parts in three of the lands, &c., mentioned in the preceding article, be disposed of and converted for the use of his majesty's forces employed in his service for three years next ensuing the Feast of Easter, and the other third part to the use of the clergy; and so the like disposition to be renewed from three years to three years by the said clergy during the war.

"It was also accorded and agreed on behalf of his majesty, his heirs and successors, that His Excellency, the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other authorized or to be authorized by his majesty, shall not disturb the professors of the Roman-Catholic religion in their present possession of their churches, lands, jurisdiction, or any other matters articulated by the said earl; and, furthermore, that an act should be passed the next Parliament according to the tenor of the agreement and concessions herein expressed."*

By this treaty, it will be perceived that the rebels were confirmed for ever, not only in the possession of all the lands, tithes, &c., which they had wrested from the Protestant settlers, and which they then held, but also all that they at any time possessed since the breaking out of the rebellion; so that the lands, tithes, churches, &c., retaken from the rebels were obliged to be restored to them. In order to properly estimate the concessions made by the king, our readers

* Signed August 25, 1645.

should bear in mind, that, save the few castles held by the Bandonians and some few others scattered up and down through the country, and the city of Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Bandon, all the rest of Munster was in the hands of the rebels, besides nearly the entire of the three other provinces. So well pleased were the Confederates with their side of the bargain, that, in a few days after (September 9), the whole assembly unanimously voted, "That they would send the king ten thousand men, and would refer to his majesty's pleasure such things about religion as Ormond either hath not power or inclination to grant."

The Confederates belonged to the national party, or those who, having obtained what they required, were content to remain under the sway of Great Britain. The religious party, on the contrary, were anxious to remove Ireland altogether from under British rule—not for the purpose of forming it into a separate kingdom, but to make it a dependency of the court of Rome. At the head of the latter party was the pope's nuncio, John Baptiste Rinuccini, Archbishop and Prince of Firmo, "who, arriving in the nick of this business, quite altered their measures and confounded their affairs,"* as it was he who, at the head of the clerical party, stirred up those animosities between the Irish and old English, which smouldered, but never slept, and which it was now the interest of both parties to forgive and forget. The nuncio landed at Kenmare on the 22nd of October, bringing with him two thousand swords, five hundred petronels, twenty thousand pounds of powder, and five or six trunks of Spanish gold. In his train were twenty-two Italians and several ecclesiastics. The vessel

* See Cox.

in which he came—a frigate carrying twenty-one guns—was closely pursued by Captain Plunket in a Parliament ship; and, had not the cook-room of the latter accidentally caught fire, the non-conforming old salt would have sent his grace of Firmo and his clerical friends—certainly not to Kilkenny.

At Kilkenny he was received by the Supreme Council with transports of delight, and conducted, with vast formality, to the castle, in the great hall of which he made a grand speech, and, amongst other things, did religiously swear “to attempt nothing prejudicial to the king.” Nevertheless, he refused to countenance any agreement between the king and the rebels that did not stipulate to restore the ecclesiastical revenues and the splendor of Popery, and wrote a peremptory letter to his friend, the Bishop of Killala, to the effect “that, if the Supreme Council should agree with Ormond, he would take all the bishops with him, and leave the kingdom.”

The English party in Ireland were totally unaware of all these secret negotiations until after the defeat of the Irish at Sligo, on which occasion the Roman-Catholic Bishop of Tuam was killed, and in his pocket was found a copy of the articles made with the Earl of Glamorgan, which displayed such a quantity of intrigue as amazed the entire Protestant party.*

1646.—On the 18th of March in this year, another treaty of peace was entered into between “His Exoelency, James, Marquis of Ormond,† Lord Lieutenant

* *Vide Cox.*

† Butler, Marquis of Ormond. Henry II. conferred the office of grand butler on Theobald Fitzwalter. From this circumstance the name of Butler is derived—a name which has ever since been retained by the descendants of that nobleman.

of Ireland, for and on behalf of his most excellent majesty, on the one part; and Lord Viscount Mountgarret, &c., on behalf of his majesty's Roman-Catholic subjects, on the other part"—the substance of which, in reference to our subject, is as follows: that all attainders, indictments, outlawries, issued since August 7, 1641, to the prejudice of the Catholics, their heirs, &c., should be vacated and made void. The fifteenth article runs thus:

"It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that an Act of Oblivion be passed in the next Parliament, to extend unto all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom and their adherents, *of all treasons and offences, capital, criminal, and personal, and other offences of what nature, kind, or quality soever, as if such treason or offences had never been committed, perpetrated or done*; that said act shall extend to all rents, goods, chattels, prizes, &c., taken since the 23rd of October, 1641."

It was also agreed that certain places of command in his majesty's army, and of honor and profit in the civil government of the kingdom, be conferred on his Roman-Catholic subjects. In consideration of these wholesale favors, the Confederates bound themselves to raise and levy ten thousand men to assist his majesty in England. This treaty, made by Ormond at the instance of Charles, seems to be the foulest act committed in that king's most unrighteous career. It was a base compromise, and for the vilest of purposes. To prolong a hopeless struggle with the Parliament of England, Charles negotiated with armed and avowed rebels. He selfishly sold his people for a price, and then shook hands and joined arms with those who had lavishly spilt the blood of his best subjects—subjects, too, who had never

wronged him, who had perished in their loyalty, and whose death and sufferings it was his duty to avenge. And yet, to hire a horde of outlaws, and let them loose upon the Puritans of England, he covenanted with those outlaws to forgive them their murders, and allow them to retain the property of their victims. O precious gift of right divine! What a gracious concession of justice to mercy! But some apologist may say, "Oh! the poor king's necessities had left him no alternative." Was it not open to him in England to make peace with his people? and, in Ireland, was it not even fairer to leave the colonists to their fate than to side actively with the insurgents against them? No; for he hated the Hampdens for opposing his misrule, and he longed to retaliate. For this end he struggled, and bullied, and bribed, and betrayed, till he got himself into that groove that hurried him to destruction. To gratify his hatred against the Parliamentarians, he seemed to disregard every other consideration. Honor and duty were as nothing in the scale; his thirst for vengeance outweighed them both. For this he could overlook the sufferings of the settlers; for this he could permit their blood to sink into the ground, and their wrongs into *oblivion*. For this one bad act, he deserved to be discrowned; for it proclaimed him a traitor, and almost sanctified the stroke that deprived him of his head.

It appears that rebels and tithe-owners were the sole approvers of this treacherous treaty. The Supreme Council of Kilkenny were almost unanimous in its favor. The established clergy, too, applauded it to the echo, and made a great remonstrance of thanks to his excellency for his care of religion and the kingdom. Their

approbation, however, is easily accounted for by the difference existing between the Glamorgan Treaty and the Ormond as regarded tithes ; for, by the former, the Roman-Catholic party were allowed to retain all the livings, tithings, church-lands, &c., which they then held, or at any time held since the breaking out of the rebellion ; but, by the latter, they were reserved for the Protestant clergy. *Hence Ormond's care of religion and the kingdom.* The news of the peace was received by the insurgents with acclamation everywhere except in Waterford, Limerick, and Clonmel. In Waterford the heralds were so unwelcome, that no person would show them the mayor's house, until at length a little boy did it for sixpence ; and, when they did see his worship, he coolly refused to do anything until the peace should be first proclaimed at Kilkenny ; but the mob took up the matter warmly, for they threatened the heralds to send them away packing, "with withes about their necks." On their arrival in Limerick, they were courteously received by the mayor, who, with the consent of the council, determined on proclaiming the peace. Upon hearing this, Father Wolf, with the sheep of his pasture well armed, proceeded to the High Cross, and threatened to excommunicate from the fold all who should adhere to the treaty. Notwithstanding which, the mayor and corporation began the proclamation with the usual formalities ; but the mob, with hideous outcries, drove them back, followed them into the mayor's house, hunted them from chamber to chamber, and, having severely wounded the mayor and several others, they profitably concluded the business by pillaging their houses. During all this tumult,

Father Wolf,* who accompanied his flock, kept stimulating their zeal by crying out, "Kill! kill! kill! and I'll absolve you."

The people of Bandon, too, upon grounds more substantial, were dissatisfied with the treaty, against which they firmly protested; and in conjunction with Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, they sent to the lords justices a remonstrance, which respectfully set forth, "That his royal majesty has been misguided and seduced by sinister and corrupt means, and with a lavish expenditure of that treasure and these estates, which your petitioners have been despoiled of, by which subtle and serpentine courses the Irish agents have quashed and depressed all opposers and accusers, and removed all impediments to their devilish end of extirpating the English." Towards the conclusion of this spirited remonstrance, the petitioners take higher ground, and boldly tell my lords, "That, before they concluded a peace, they should have consulted the Parliament of England, or debated the matter with them in council." They go on to state, "That, finding how they are in all likelihood of being overborne by the power and potency of their adversaries, they do beseech your lordships to call to mind that his majesty hath, by his royal assent unto an act of Parliament, obliged himself not to grant any pardon or terms of peace to the aforesaid rebels without the consent of the Parliament of England; and that, accordingly, your lordships would not suffer any part of his majesty's honor to be betrayed to clemency in assenting to such packed terms of peace as they have already contrived to draw your lordships into,

* Father Wolf, together with the Bishop of Emly and several other ecclesiastics, was subsequently hanged by Ireton's orders.

without the consent of the said Parliament of England, and without admitting your petitioners to the free and full debate of the case.”*

Shortly afterwards, the Irish Roman-Catholic clergy assembled at Waterford; but, instead of carrying out the conditions of the peace, they inveighed against it. Kilkenny and Limerick soon followed their example, being influenced by the nuncio, who carried his hostility so far as to publish an excommunication against all those who should adhere to it.

The Parliament having appointed Lord Lisle as President of Munster, he landed in Cork, bringing with him thirty thousand pounds, seven large pieces of cannon, one thousand muskets, and one hundred barrels of powder. Upon his arrival, he found matters in great disorder. The army was full of officers disaffected to him, and everything was ill managed and ill conducted. He visited a few garrisons in the country parts, and then returned to Cork, where he spent the rest of the year in fruitless attempts to displace Lord Inchiquin.

This year a mint was established in Bandon by order of Lord Broghill, and also in Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale; and from them were issued the siege-pieces, or money of necessity. The Bandon coins (all of which were of copper) were about the size of a farthing, and about half as thick, containing on the obverse the Bandon Bridge within a linear circle, outside of which was a beaded circle, but without the three castles which are generally represented in the Bandon arms;

* The Bandon people were nearly all Parliamentarians; and many amongst them had left England to escape that ascendancy in church and state which the Stuarts and the bishops so rigorously maintained.

and, between the circles just mentioned, "THE CORPORASION." On the reverse, enclosed by a linear circle similar in size and form to the other, three castles; and, between the circle and the beaded one outside, "THE BANDON ARMS," with the date "1646." There was another of an irregular octagonal form, having on one side the letters "B. B.," within a circle of small lozenges; on the other side, three castles within a similar circle; weight, thirty-one grains. The letters "B. B." signify Bandon-bridge, the ancient name of the town; and the same letters indented occur as a countermark on some of the tokens issued in Bandon in 1670, which have, on the obverse, three castles in the field, and the legend "BANDONE ARMES, 1670;" reverse, a bridge and "CORPORASION PENIE."

On the 10th of December, a report of the state of Ireland was made to the Parliament, by which it appears that, in Munster, the garrisons in the towns of Cork, Bandon, Kinsale, and Youghal consisted of four thousand foot and three hundred horse.

1647.—On the 3rd of May, Inchiquin took several places in the county of Waterford; and the following August, being reinforced, he took Cashel by storm. On the 28th of September, having received large reinforcements from England, he was enabled to take the field with four thousand foot and twelve hundred horse; and, on the 13th of November, he met the Irish army under Lord Taffe,* at a place called Knockniness, a little to the west of Mallow. The Irish army consisted of seven thousand four hundred and sixty-four foot and one thousand and seventy-four horse. After

* Lord Taffe was grandson of Captain Taffe, who successfully fought "the great apostolic vicar" on the upper banks of the Bandon.

a strategem, by means of which the English were enabled to top the hill so as to command the enemy's right wing, the latter were compelled to fly, and great numbers of them were killed in the neighboring morass. The left, commanded by Sir Alexander Mac Donnell, was forced to yield, also. Lord Inchiquin having given orders before the battle that no quarter should be given, Mac Donnell and most of his men were put to death in cold blood. "An action," says Thurloe, "which, in a great measure, tarnished the glory of so complete a victory." In this battle, the Irish lost four thousand in killed, six thousand stand of arms, thirty-eight pair of colors, the general's tent, besides some standards, ammunition, and the entire of their baggage. On the English side fell Colonel Sir William Bridges, Colonel Grey, Major Browne, Sir Robert Travers,* the judge advocate, and many others. On the news of this great encounter reaching England, the Parliament voted Inchiquin ten thousand pounds to furnish supplies for Munster, and one thousand as a present to himself.

After a great deal of hesitation and several fruitless efforts to patch up a peace with the Irish, Lord Ormond, seeing the desperate state to which the king's service was reduced with the vacillating Irish on the one side and the stubborn Parliamentarians on the other, resolved on submitting to the latter. Accordingly, he wrote to that effect to their commissioners, Sir Thomas Wharton and Richard Salway; and, the terms being arranged, he shortly after quitted the kingdom.

* Sir Robert Travers was member for Clonakilty.

CHAPTER XII.

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT RE-ASSEMBLES—OUR OLD FRIEND, MR. ANTHONY DOPPINGS—HE TAKES CARE OF NUMBER ONE—GENERAL JONES GAINS A GREAT VICTORY OVER PRESTON—LORD INCHICUIN JOINS THE IRISH NATIONALISTS—THE NUNCIO EXCOMMUNICATES THE NATIONAL PARTY—HIS PUBLICATION—OWEN ROE—THE NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS PARTIES ENGAGED IN MURDEROUS WARS AMONGST THEMSELVES—CHARLES II. PROCLAIMED IN KINSALE—THE CONFEDERATES ORDER THE NUNCIO TO QUIT THE KINGDOM—HE LEAVES FOR ROME—THE ROYALISTS, THE REBELS, AND THE RELIGIOUS PARTY NOW UNITE AGAINST THE PARLIAMENT—OLIVER CROMWELL LANDS IN DUBLIN—HE TAKES DROGHEDA BY STORM—WHAT OWEN ROE SAID WHEN HE HEARD IT—CROMWELL TAKES WEXFORD—ROSS SURRENDERS—LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE—BANDON DECLARES FOR CROMWELL—HE VISITS THE TOWN.

THE Irish Parliament, which had been prematurely brought to a close by the outburst of the great rebellion, resumed its sittings on the 26th of March, and, on the 30th, proceeded to business. The first act of the house was to appoint a committee to draught a letter to be sent unto the committee of the Derby House in London, on behalf of Captain Thomas Plunkett; and the first act of the committee was to appoint one of the members for Bandon—our old friend, Anthony Doppinge—to prepare it. Mr. Doppinge, nothing loth, applied himself to the task with his usual industry, and with such despatch that it was brought up the same day before the rising of the house. From the report, which was rather lengthy, we gather that Captain Plunkett gave one thousand pounds for the safeguard of the city of Dublin, and the relief of several garrisons; whereof sixty pounds were sent to Cathirlough in money, and

the rest delivered to the government in tobacco, at ninepence per pound. After detailing some other matters, the committee desire "that the thanks of both houses be given to Captain Plunkett." Some few days after, Mr. Doppinge presented a petition to the house, stating—

"That, upon the 6th instant, Sir Erasmus Burrowes and Sir William Gilbert were spoken to, at a committee of both houses, to view the guard in the castle; that they, repairing to the guard, found only six men upon the guard, and one sentinel at each gate; that they asked of a corporal of Captain Peisley, who had command of that guard, who showed him the said eight men, and told them that there were two upon the castle; that, immediately Captain Peisley coming in, they, in a civil manner, demanded of him where his officer was, who told them he went out to recreate himself, and would come by and by; that Sir Erasmus told him the guard was very slender, and some of his soldiers Papists, and were ill affected, and were gone to the enemy; that Peisley, in a very high manner, said they lie that say so, and that there is a great stir with a company of flickards and babblers without cause. After reading the report, the Rev. Mr. Birch, chaplain to the lord lieutenant, was called in to know his answer concerning the matter, and some words in the petition."

Mr. Birch, however, stood on his privilege as chaplain to his excellency, and refused to give the house any information; whereupon a committee was appointed to repair to the lord lieutenant, and carry with them Mr. Doppinge's petition. Mr. Doppinge was a member of several other committees, also; as "to consider the advisability of not billeting soldiers on members of Parliament;" "to congratulate the commissioners that had been sent over by the Parliament, and to acknowledge, in the name of both houses, their hearty thankfulness for their zeal and care in sending supplies for the relief and preservation of this kingdom;" and "to

peruse the article exhibited against William Chappell, Bishop of Cork and Ross, late Provost of the College of Dublin, and his answer thereunto, &c."

Notwithstanding all the care and diligence displayed by our junior representative in the discharge of his duties, yet we find that Master Anthony was caught napping at last; for, on a roll-call of the house on the 21st of May, he and thirty-three others were fined one shilling each for being absent. Although, as we have stated, our junior representative was most assiduous in the performance of his duties towards his country and his constituents, yet, like many of the members of Parliament of our own day, he did not think the interests of that very interesting digit "number one" beneath the consideration of an Irish M.P. Accordingly, we find him looking wide awake, and with such success, that he was enabled to induce the house to pass "a bill entitled, 'An Act for securing three Messuages, or Houses,* with three Gardens and one Orchard, with the Appurtenances, situate in St. Bride's Street in the City of Dublin, unto Anthony Doppinge, Gentleman, for threescore Years;' which bill, having received the third reading, shall pass as a law of this Parliament."

Of our senior member, Sir Francis Slingsby, we have been unable to discover any trace. On the 18th of June, the house was adjourned.

The first act of the English Parliamentary commissioners was to issue a proclamation strictly prohibiting the exactions and free quarterings of the army, and their next was to forbid the use of the Book of Common

* We suspect these were some of the houses taken from Roman Catholics found residing in the city.

Prayer. The *lex talionis* might excuse this act of intolerance even in an age when toleration was better understood; but, after all, it came with a very bad grace from those who had fought and freely shed their blood for liberty of conscience.

General Jones held Dublin for the Parliament. On one occasion, he marched his men twelve miles outside the city, when he was met by General Preston, and driven back. Upon this success, Preston advanced with his whole army, ten thousand strong, and occupied most of the out garrisons. From thence he proceeded to besiege Trim. After suffering one or two other defeats, Jones resolved to retrieve his reputation, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, on the 1st of August, he drew out two regiments of horse and three thousand eight hundred foot—half-starved soldiers—and some artillery. With these he marched out to relieve Trim. Preston, having heard this, raised the siege, intending to get between the English and Dublin; but Jones, who had been reinforced by seven hundred horse and twelve hundred foot, followed Preston, and overtook him at Dangan Hill, where it came to a fair stand-up fight* on the 8th of August. And here Jones, by sheer dint of valor and downright blows, obtained the greatest victory that had been gained since the war commenced.* The Irish lost six thousand in killed and many prisoners, amongst whom were five colonels, six majors, thirty-two captains, twenty-three lieutenants, twenty-seven ensigns, two cornets, twenty-

* General Jones afterwards died at Dungarvan of fever, and was buried with great military honors in St. Mary's, at Youghal. Cromwell, by whose order the day of his interment was kept as a solemn observance, writing of him, says, "He ran his course with much honor, courage, and fidelity."

two sergeants, and two quartermasters; whilst the victors escaped with the loss of only twenty men. The reason of the great carnage amongst the Irish was owing to their having fled for refuge to a bog, where they were pursued and cut down like sheep, without being able to form or make even a show of resistance. Yet, strange as it may seem, the nuncio and his clergy rejoiced at Preston's misfortune; for his army were old English of the pale, and belonged to the national party; and, now that they were rid of them by Jones's victory, Owen Roe, the dutiful and most devoted servant of the church, became their general-in-chief.

1648.—But the great success of Jones at Dangan Hill was nearly counterpoised by the defection of Lord Inchiquin in Munster. This nobleman—owing probably to the appointment of Lord Lisle as President of Munster, and the persuasions of Dean Boyle, lord primate, “whose loyal industry” filled his head with apprehensions that the Independents in the English Parliament were bent on proclaiming a republic, in which the nobility would lose their privileges and their peerage—resolved to declare for the king. Having concluded a truce with the Irish from May until November, he sent the national party five hundred horse under Major Doyley and Lords Clanricard and Taffe; the leaders of that party having previously pronounced for the king, and against the nuncio^a and his party, who were equally vehement in favor of the pope. The nuncio also excommunicated his *quondam* friends, and his clergy backed him up by uttering “unavoidable damnation to all who should adhere to the cessation.” Many of the nuncio's adherents were, however, ill disposed to shed the blood of those friends

who preferred peace to civil war, and the fireside enjoyments of home to the privations of the camp and the bivouac. To remove the womanish sentimentalities of these, and in order to overcome their scruples, his grace of Firmo published the following declaration :

“In the name of God : Amen. Whereas, about our last decision concerning the publication of the cessation, it was objected by some, that although, for the avoiding of some loss of temporal goods, they could not, with a safe conscience, publish that cessation, yet it is doubted by them whether the same be not lawful for the avoiding of such bloodshed and slaughter as might follow upon the opposition made against it—we, by these presents, declare that it is a mortal sin against God and the church, and a breach of the oath of association, either to procure or suffer the publication of that truce ; and that Catholics ought to be and are bound to undergo the loss of all their temporal goods, their liberty, and all that is dear to them, and even their life itself, rather than publish or obey it. This also was the sense of these our words in our former decree—‘*Nullo modo licet*,’ &c. ; and we well know that men cannot lose their goods in this dissension without the slaughter of some, or, perhaps, of many.

“In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our own hand, the thirteenth day of August, 1648.

“JNO. BAP. RINUCCINI.

“JO. RAPOTEU.”

It is worthy of remark, that the nuncio and clergy, who excommunicated the national party for abiding by the treaty made with the royalists, yet allowed their general, Owen Roe O’Neil, to make leagues and cessations with the Parliament party without censure or reproof.*

Upon Lord Inchiquin declaring for the king, the English Parliament voted him a traitor and a rebel. To this he paid but little attention ; for, in a few

* Vide Cox.

months after (September 29), he welcomed and entertained the Marquis of Ormond at Cork. The rest of the year passed quietly, except amongst the Irish themselves, who were engaged in as murderous a war as any that had taken place since the rebellion broke out—Clanricard, Preston, and Lord Inchiquin on the one side, and Owen Roe on the other. The latter was so pressed by Inchiquin at Fort Falkland as to offer Colonel Jones to evacuate Ireland with his army, and return to Spain, if the Parliament would allow him.

1649.—Upon the execution of the king, Lord Ormond, who was at Youghal when the news of it reached him, proclaimed the Prince of Wales under the title of Charles II. Prince Rupert, who had arrived in Kinsale on the 10th of February, also proclaimed Charles with all the solemnity of which the place was capable; he and his officers being habited in deep mourning, and his vessels displaying black “jacks,” ensigns, and streamers. Admirals Blake and Deane were sent by the Parliament to blockade Rupert, which they effectually did, and, in addition, captured the “Guinea” frigate, which had been sent out on a cruise. Prince Rupert personally solicited Cork, Waterford, and other places for assistance; but, being refused, he resolved to let the winter do its work on the enemy, rather than risk an attack. Besides, his own men were tired of being blockaded, and deserted their ships in great numbers; and it was only by hanging up ten of the runaways, *pour encourager les autres*, that he succeeded to some extent in checking the movement. Being greatly distressed for want of stores and men, he was obliged to reduce his squadron to four frigates, besides the flag-ships; and, even then, want so stared

him in the face, that, had it not been for Mr. Robert Southwell, of Kinsale, who amply supplied his fleet with provisions, the prince would never have been able to proceed to sea. Being, however, at length supplied, he set sail, and safely arrived at Lisbon.

On the 23rd of February, the nuncio took ship at Galway, and returned to Rome. The general assembly were so displeased with his conduct, that they directed their speaker to write him a letter ordering him out of the kingdom, enclosing, at the same time, a schedule of grievances occasioned by him, and threatening to impeach him before the pope. They also published a severe declaration against all those who should correspond with him. On his arrival in Rome, he was censured by his holiness, who, addressing him, is reported to have said, "*Temerarie te gessisti.*" This rebuke had such an effect upon him, that he shortly after sickened and died.

From this time out the Irish fought vigorously on the royalist side, and there are not wanting writers who would fain persuade us that they were warmly attached to the first Charles; but we very much question the warmth of that attachment, as well as its purity, particularly when we note that it was in this very prince's reign they got up this greatest of all rebellions, and in whose reign also it was that their Supreme Council at Kilkenny gave written instructions to Sir Nicolas Plunket to offer his kingdom of Ireland first to the pope, and, if refused by him, then in succession to every other Catholic potentate in Europe, including even the Duke of Lorraine. And yet, in a book now lying beside us, we find them termed "royalists" throughout; and, indeed, as such they had the boldness

to petition Charles II. for the restoration of their estates. Royalists, forsooth! What pretty royalists were Owen Roe O'Neil, Rinuccini, Father Wolf, Sir Nicolas Plunket, and the pope's brass band of their day! The inference, of course then, is, that the English colonists were rebels. Was it the English colonists who sent emissaries all over papal Europe, and organized the most gigantic conspiracy that ever yet threatened English rule in this country? Was it they who broke out against the supremacy of England on the eventful 23rd of October? That the colonists did fight against Charles is true, but not until he had justly forfeited every prerogative of a king—until, in fact, he had become a rebel himself, and then, of course, they fought against him as they would against Father Wolf or any other rebel. No: on the contrary, the insurgents hated both the English and their king; and in this they were consistent, for every generation that preceded them, from the second Henry's time down to their own, did the same. That they formed an alliance with Charles, no one will deny; but it was not for the purpose of benefiting that prince, but of dragging from him terms which they well knew his English subjects would never concede. They were also influenced by another motive—that of crushing the Puritans. On this subject the royalists and the rebels were united; and it would be difficult to say which of the two burned with the more intense hatred towards them. They both foresaw that, if the Puritans succeeded in the struggle, the divine right and non-resistance of the one had as little chance of attaining success, as the cruel misdeeds of the other had of escaping a severe, but well merited, punishment.

Meanwhile, Ormond drew together all the assistance he could muster—Irish as well as English. Lord Inchiquin was made lieutenant-general of the infantry; the Earl of Castlehaven, lieutenant-general of the horse; and Lord Taffe, whom Inchiquin beat at Knockninos, master of the ordnance. His army consisted of three thousand seven hundred horse and fourteen thousand five hundred foot, composed of Protestants and Catholics, who, by the good management of their officers, agreed tolerably well together. With this force Ormond marched towards Dublin, and, on the 14th of June, encamped at Naas. Having rested there some hours, he next proceeded to Finglass, where he was joined by a great number of the Irish whom Jones had driven out of the city to prevent a famine. Inchiquin soon began operations, and, with his usual success, he first took Drogheda, then Dundalk, and then Trim; after which he joined the royal army, encamped at Rathmines.

On the 25th of July, Colonels Reynolds, Hunks, and Venables, as *avant-couriers* of the coming man, together with six hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot, money, and other necessities, landed at Dublin. The Marquis of Ormond, being informed that Cromwell intended to land in Munster, sent Lord Inchiquin with a strong detachment to oppose him, and employed himself in fortifying Baggot-rath, and rendering it defensible. His men being constantly drawn out in battle array, and no signs of a sortie apparent, he allowed them to rest themselves, and retired to his tent for a similar purpose. Jones was all this time on the watch; and, having stolen out of the city about ten o'clock at night, he succeeded in surprising them. Having first over-

powered the sentries, he was enabled to rush upon the main body before they could receive any tidings of his approach, and entirely routed them. The horse were the first to fly, which being perceived by the foot, many of them at once laid down their arms, and the rest retreated in disorder. So great was the consternation, that neither Lord Ormond, Lord Taffe, nor any of their generals could induce them to confront their opponents, or even provide for their own safety. In this encounter, which was called the battle of Rathmines, four thousand of the rebels were killed, two thousand five hundred and seventeen taken prisoners, amongst whom were several officers of note; all the artillery, two hundred draught-oxen, and all the baggage of an exceedingly large and rich camp. Ormond soon after wrote to Jones for a list of his prisoners, and received from that valorous soldier the following reply:

“MY LORD,—Since I routed your army, I cannot have the happiness to know where you are that I may wait upon you.

“MICHAEL JONES.”

A truly great day for Ireland was the 14th of August, when Oliver Cromwell, the new lord lieutenant, landed in Dublin. He brought with him nine thousand foot, four thousand horse, and all the necessaries for his army. Having settled the affairs, both civil and military, of the city, and rested his men a few days, he appeared, on the 2nd of September, before Drogheda. Lord Ormond had left nothing undone to strengthen this town. He placed four hundred of his own regiment in it, also the regiments under the command of Sir Edmund Verney, Colonel Birns, Colonel Warren, Colonel Wall, Lord Westmeath, Sir James Dillon, and

Lieutenant-Colonel Cavenagh—in all amounting to three thousand and four hundred foot and two hundred horse, all of whom were under the orders of Sir Arthur Aston, late Governor of Oxford, a man of great military experience and reputation. So confident was Sir Arthur of his position, that he wrote to Ormond to assure him that he “would find the enemy play, and that, the garrison being select men and the town so strong, it could not be taken by assault.” Oliver, however, soon removed this impression from his mind; for, having besieged the place *on one side only*, and without even the formality of a regular approach, he began the construction of his batteries on the 9th of September, and the very next day, at five in the evening, stormed the town; and though his men were twice beaten off, and their leader (Colonel Cassella) slain, yet, nothing daunted, he attacked it the third time, commanding himself in person,* and carried it. Most of the garrison were put to the sword, amongst whom was Colonel Boyle—one of the Cork family; and the rest, not being more than thirty in number, were transported to Barbadoes. The terrible slaughter at Drogheda so frightened the neighboring garrisons, that Dundalk immediately submitted, as did several forts and castles. In justice to Cromwell, we must state, that, previous to opening fire on the town, he sent the besieged the following laconic message: “Surrender and quarter;

* Oliver was a truly brave man. It is related, that once, during his Scotch campaign, he was riding near Glasgow at the head of a body of horse, when a Scotch soldier, planted on a high wall, took the opportunity to fire at him, but missed his aim. Oliver, without slackening his pace or drawing a rein, turned contemptuously round, and exclaimed, “Fellow! if any trooper of mine had missed such a mark, he should have had an hundred lashes.” He then rode on without further notice, leaving the fellow amazed at his forbearance. This, as Mr. Pinkerton remarks, was a rare example of true courage.

no surrender, no quarter.”* We need scarcely say the garrison accepted the latter alternative. When Owen Roe heard that a place so strong and so well secured had been taken in such a summary manner, “Well,” exclaimed he, with a great oath, “after that, if Cromwell stormed hell, he would take that, too.”

Having returned to Dublin, and arranged matters there to his liking, Oliver marched southwards, and having taken Arklow, Ferns, Enniscorthy, and places of lesser note, he arrived at Wexford on the 1st of October, and immediately sent the same summons as at Drogheda. The governor (Colonel Synot) replied so evasively as made it apparent his object was only to gain time. In this, Cromwell, who also bided his time, indulged him; so that Lord Castlehaven found it easy to introduce a regiment of foot into the town, and, in three days after, the Marquis of Ormond was able to send in another force, consisting of one thousand men, under Sir Edmund Butler. Nevertheless, within two hours after the arrival of this last reinforcement, Captain James Strafford surrendered the castle, the guns of which Cromwell immediately turned upon the town; which so terrified the garrison and the inhabitants, that they fled from the walls and endeavored to escape by the river. This being perceived by the besiegers, they mounted the scaling ladders, carried the place by storm, and put all they found in arms, to the number of two thousand, to the sword. From Wexford, Cromwell hastened to the town of Ross, into which Lord Ormond had thrown fifteen hundred men; but, as soon as the guns began to play, the garrison began to capitulate; and the commandant having,

* *Vide* Budgell's “Life of the Earl of Orrery.”

amongst other matters, stipulated for liberty of conscience, Oliver replied, "That he meddled with no man's conscience; but if, by liberty of conscience, he meant liberty to exercise the mass, he judged it best to use plain dealing, and to let him know, that, where the Parliament of England had power, that liberty would not be allowed."* The governor, being unable to prevail upon the stern Independent, was obliged to accept the proposed terms, and march out, taking with him all his men, with the exception of six hundred, who remained and took service with Cromwell.

Meanwhile, the chief towns in Cork—Bandon,† Kinsale, Youghal, Mallow, and Cork city—being inhabited by English settlers and their descendants, readily declared for Cromwell. Of course, they could not be expected to fraternize with those who had robbed themselves, and massacred thousands of their relatives and friends. The union between the royalists and the rebels disgusted them. They sternly repudiated it; and their sympathies, from being royal, became wholly republican. Tired of a king who had basely sacrificed their blood-bought rights, they sided with the party that had brought him to justice. The uncompromising Cromwell was the man after their heart; and so cordially

* This candid reply has been arraigned as inconsistent, but unjustly, as liberty of conscience, which Cromwell always respected, differs widely from the exercise of the mass. One was nothing more than liberty to hold opinions without fear of being held accountable for them; but the other was the pompous celebration of a rite, which, if even conceded by Oliver, he well knew, "where the Parliament of England had power," would never be allowed.

† In one of Cromwell's letters to the speaker, he writes, "It hath pleased the Lord, whilst these things have been thus transacting here, to add to our interest, in Munster, Bandon-bridge; the town, as we hear upon the matter, thrusting out young Jephson, who was their governor, or else deserting it upon that jealousy."

did they welcome him, that garrisons and inhabitants pronounced with one accord in his favor. They also supplied him with winter quarters for his troops, and placed two thousand five hundred good men* at his disposal. He selected Youghal as his head-quarters during the the winter of 1649, from which place he visited many of the garrison towns in this county. He came several times to Bandon, and always staid in a little two-storied house that then occupied the site where now stands the residence of Mr. T. Bennett in the South Main Street, and in a little bedroom at the western end of which one, who in a short time was destined to become one of the most powerful potentates of Europe, often retired to rest, or muse, perhaps, over his anticipations of the future. Such importance did the subsequent owner of the little tenement of two stories attach to anything connected with Oliver's visit to the town, that, when the house was taken down to make room for its present successor, he had all the boards of the little bedroom carefully removed, and relaid in the new edifice; and with no small interest we have looked on those old time-worn mementoes of a bygone age so closely associated with the presence of Oliver Cromwell.†

* The Bandonians who served under Cromwell and his generals, were familiarly known in those days as "the fire-eaters."

† It was whilst staying in Bandon, that Cromwell is reported to have said, "That, if there was an Earl of Cork in every province of Ireland, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion."

CHAPTER XIII.

CROMWELL BEGINS AGAIN—THE BATTLE IN MACROOM PARK—THE TITULAR BISHOP OF ROSS HANGED BY LORD BROGHILL—SIR RICHARD COX BOEN IN BANDON—THE BATTLE OF KNOCKBRACK—GREAT BRAVERY OF THE IRISH HORSE—THE SURRENDER OF ROSSCABBERY TERMINATES THE REBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF CORK—A COMMISSION SITS IN BANDON—CONFIDENCE RETURNS—THE WHITE LADY OF THE CLIFFS.

EARLY in the spring of 1650, Cromwell marched out, and reduced Gowlin-bridge, Fethard Castle, Clogheen, and Kilkenny. From the latter city he proceeded to Clonmel, which was well fortified and prepared for defence. Moreover, the titular Bishop of Ross had collected about five thousand men, with the design of raising the siege. Cromwell ordered Lord Broghill to attack them, for which purpose he gave him two thousand horse and sixteen hundred foot. With these he marched with great rapidity to Kilcrea, and thence to Carrigadrohid, which he found garrisoned by the bishop. Here he left the foot, and proceeded with the horse to Macroom. On his approach, the Irish set fire to the castle, and joined the rest of the army, who, to the number of five thousand men, were drawn out in the park. Broghill attacked them instantly, and with such vigor that he routed the whole body, and made the bishop a prisoner. To the latter he offered his life, if he would cause Carrigadrohid to surrender. The bishop promised to do so; but, when he arrived at the castle, instead of ordering the besieged to surrender, this

modern Regulus advised the very opposite course, and told them to hold out to the last, whereupon Broghill had a gallows erected, and the inflexible prelate was hanged forthwith within view of the garrison. Soon after, the place was taken by a simple stratagem; for the English having yoked some teams of oxen to balks of timber, shaped so as to resemble heavy ordnance, and these being drawn towards the castle, the defenders became terrified, apprehensive that the place would be battered about their ears, and quickly surrendered.

Previous to the battle at Macroom Park, Broghill overtook Lord Muskerry marching at the head of one thousand horse and two thousand foot to join the bishop; notwithstanding which, Broghill, who had only with him at that time six hundred foot and four hundred horse, attacked him vigorously. Both sides charged at each other with great fury; the Irish particularly directing their attentions to Lord Broghill, and crying out, "Kill the fellow in the gold-laced coat!" which they would in all probability have done, were it not for a reformado lieutenant who came to his rescue. After a prolonged and desperate encounter, the Irish gave way, leaving six hundred dead upon the field, and a large number of prisoners.

Cromwell, having taken Clonmel, returned to Youghal, and, in obedience to positive orders, set sail for England on the 29th of May. He entrusted the command to Ireton, his son-in-law, whom he also made Lord President of Munster. At the close of the year, Ormond and Inchiquin, finding Cromwell everywhere victorious, quitted the kingdom. The former was offered a pass by Ireton, but declined it.

On the 25th of March, in this year, the Right

Honorable Sir Richard Cox, Bart., Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, was born at Bandon. In his autobiography* he tells us his grandfather, Michael Cox—the first of the family that settled in Ireland—was a younger brother of an honest family that for some hundreds of years held a good copyhold, near Bishop's Canings, in Wiltshire. His third son, Richard (the father of the subject of this memoir), married Kathrine, daughter of Walter Birde, Esq.,† three times Sovereign and a long time Recorder of Clonakilty. After the death of his parents, both of whom died in 1652—his father being murdered by a cowardly fellow, one Captain Norton, who stabbed him with a penknife as they were walking together, and his mother having, through grief, fallen into consumption, and died the following winter—young Cox was taken care of by his good uncle, John Birde, who put him to school with Mr. Thomas Barry, of Clonakilty. He attributes all his success in life to a principle of honesty and a regard for religion, sincerity, and virtue. In connection with the former of these, he relates the following story :

“I owed a cob [Spanish dollar, value four shillings and ninepence], which, by driblets, I had lost at the truck-table, and, being dunned for it, I stole one from my uncle; but, being checked by my principle, I restored it immediately, and resolved to take some lawful course to pay that debt, and furnish myself with more money. That very night I proposed to my uncle, who was seneschal of several of the Earl of Cork's manors, that I might have his permission to practise as an attorney, which being granted, I got enough to pay my debt the first court-day.”

* See Caulfield's edition.

† Walter Birde was educated at Oxford. He was not only a good scholar, but also understood music, and was an accomplished performer on the bass viol.

As soon as he could afford it, however, he ceased to practise as an attorney—probably “being checked by his principle”—and entered himself as a law-student at Grey’s Inn in 1671, from whence, in two years, he was called to the bar, and soon after returned to Bandon. By his uncle’s advice, he married one Mary Bourne—she being only fifteen, and he not quite twenty-four—and went to reside in Clonakilty, where he lived several years in retirement; but, his family increasing, he roused himself from his indolence, and removed to Cork, where his talents soon brought him into notice; and upon the resignation of the recordership of Kinsale by William Worth, afterwards second Baron of the Irish Exchequer, he was appointed to that office through the interest of Sir Robert Southwell. At this time he applied himself closely to his profession, and with such success as to have cleared five hundred pounds the first year, and subsequently to have purchased lands to the value of one hundred and sixty pounds per annum. In addition, he kept his coach, and lived in a style befitting his position. In 1687, owing to the appointment of Lord Tyroconnell to the government of Ireland, Cox removed to England, and took up his residence in Bristol, where he commenced his “History of Ireland,” the first part of which was published in London in 1689, and entitled “*Hibernia Anglicana*.” The second appeared in 1690, but was not brought down further than 1653. It was supposed that the continuation from that year was in manuscript; but Mr. Caulfield thinks this a mistake. In 1679, being chairman for the quarter sessions for the county held at Bandon,* he delivered an elaborate charge

* There were only four quarter sessions held at this time for the county—Bandon, Fermoy, Rathcormack, and Mallow.

“with such spirit and good sense as mightily animated the Protestants, and as highly provoked the Papists.” Upon the appointment of Sir Robert Southwell to the office of Irish Secretary of State by King William, Cox and Captain Waller were selected by him as secretaries to accompany him to Ireland. Upon the surrender of Waterford, Cox was made recorder of that city; and, upon the embarkation of William from Duncannon, he was asked what employment he would choose. He selected the second justiceship of the Common Pleas, and was immediately sworn in, September 15, 1690.

Sir Richard was also present at the battle of the Boyne. It is related, that, just before the battle, there were several high reports in the English camp of the number of the enemy, which Sir Robert Southwell told the king, upon the authority of Cox, were false. The night previous to the battle, an officer came over from the Irish camp, and exaggerated to William both the posture and number of the enemy in so plausible a manner, that his majesty told Sir Robert he was certainly misinformed as to their number, and that the Irish forces were more numerous than he imagined. Sir Robert, upon this, communicated the king's doubts to Mr. Cox, who desired that the officer might be led round the English camp, and then called in to say how many men he thought the army consisted of. This being done, the officer confidently pronounced them to be more than double what William well knew them to be. His majesty saw at once that the officer was a conceited ill guesser, and felt pleased with the way in which the error was discovered.

In October, 1690—in connection with Robert Roch-

ford, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal—Cox went with a commission of assize and gaol delivery to Ardee and Drogheda. In March, 1691, he and the Lord Chief Justice Reynell went as judges of assize to Cork and Waterford, and, by order of the government, issued printed protections to the Irish. The number issued by them in these two counties alone amounted to twenty-four thousand. On the 1st of May, 1691, being sent down with a commission to govern the county and city of Cork, he arrived there on the 4th, and brought with him a commission of oyer and terminer.

During the siege of Limerick, and long after, the country was in a very disturbed state. Daily, and almost hourly, encounters took place between the local militia and King James's devotees. To cope with these difficulties, Cox set himself to work; and, in a very short time, he raised and equipped eight regiments of dragoons and three of foot, which did great service and much execution upon the Irish, and took from them so much plunder—ten thousand pounds' worth, if not more—as set many of the soldiers on their legs after the war. Although Governor Cox was entitled to a tenth of the spoil, he took none of it; "contenting himself with acting like a true Englishman whose heart was in the cause." The government was so pleased with his conduct, that they presented him with a gratuity of one hundred and fifty pounds, and abated half his quit-rents for ever.

On the 12th of April, 1692, he was sworn Deputy Governor of the Royal Fishery Company, and the next day one of their majesties' Privy Council; and, on the 5th of November following, he was knighted in Dublin

Castle by His Excellency Lord Sydney, the lord lieutenant. In 1701, he was sworn Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Same year, his daughter Mary was married to Mr. Allen Riggs; "but this matter, which at first had a good prospect," ended rather unfortunately. The preceding year, his eldest daughter, Amy, was united to Sir William Mansell, a Welsh baronet. In 1703, Sir Richard Cox—by pursuing, as he tells us, the principles of honesty, religion, sincerity, and virtue, which, from early life, he had staked out for his guidance—attained to the highest legal honor in the power of the state to bestow; for, on the 6th of August, he was sworn in as Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. Four days after his appointment, he issued writs for the assembling of Parliament on the 21st of September; and, in that assemblage, the once humble Protestant orphan-boy of Bandon took precedence of the highest nobles of the land, and occupied the enviable position of Speaker of the House of Lords. The same year, the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of Dublin waited on him with the freedom of the city, which they presented to him in a gold box, valued at thirty pounds. In 1706, he gave twenty-five pounds towards repairing one of the churches at Bandon, "being the town where I was born;" and the same year he was created a baronet. In 1707, the Earl of Pembroke being lord lieutenant, it was thought advisable to promote the Lord Chief Baron Freeman to the lord chancellorship; "The ministry in England having, as I suppose, a design to repeal the test here as to Protestant Dissenters, and render them capable of holding offices, which it was truly judged I would never promote." He received, of course, the compliments of Queen Anne, and

was told that her majesty was not dissatisfied with his conduct, but was obliged, by reasons of state necessity, to change hands. He returned to the country, and again resumed his pen. He wrote "An Address to those of the Romish Communion in England;" also "An Inquiry into Religion, and the Use of Reason in Reference to it." In 1710, he came back to public life with the party who dishonored Marlborough (as Macaulay remarks) and disgraced themselves, and was made Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, which office he held to the death of Anne, when he was displaced with the other Tory judges. In 1715, he was called before the Irish Parliament to answer several charges brought against him; but, after a fair and full hearing, he was honorably acquitted. After this, he again returned to Dunmanway, where he employed his time in private studies, in improving his estate, and in acts of charity; and died of paralysis on the 3rd of May, 1733, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

He had a numerous family. His eldest son, Richard, died in 1725, leaving a son, Richard, the second baronet. His youngest son, Michael, became Bishop of Ossory. In addition to his two daughters, Amy and Mary—married to Sir W. Mansell, Bart., and Allen Riggs, Esq. (Mary, on the death of Riggs, married Rev. Mr. Skolfield)—he had two others married to Edward Cooke and Roger Fenwick.

1651.—High courts of justice were held this year for the trial of those concerned in the rebellion; and so few of the parties inculpated had survived the wars of the previous ten years, and all the evils consequent thereon, that not more than two hundred were left to suffer by the hands of the executioner.

Limerick being besieged by Ireton, Lord Muskerry raised a considerable body of men to come to its assistance. Lord Broghill, by Ireton's orders, assembled all the forces he could collect in the country; and having received intelligence that a body of Lord Muskerry's horse had proceeded from the Castle of Dromagh, near the Blackwater, towards Castle Ishin, on their way to Limerick, he hastened after them. On the 26th of July, he overtook them at midnight, and, in the midst of a dreadful storm of hail and wind, fell on their cavalry videttes, and drove them into their camp. The Irish then crossed the Blackwater, closely pursued by Lord Broghill, who drew up his men, and led on the right wing in person. Major Whalley commanded the left, and Major Cuppage the foot. They made a very fierce onslaught; but the Irish withstood it a long time with great bravery, particularly the cavalry, who fought horse-head to horse-head, hacking and hewing with their swords when they had expended their ammunition. At length, with much difficulty, they were routed with great slaughter. Colonel Mac Gillicuddy, who led on Lord Muskerry's horse regiment, Major Mac Gillariah (an old Spanish officer), Major Mac Fineen, and several others of note, were taken prisoners. So resolutely did the Irish horse fight in this engagement, that, with one exception, every officer they had was either killed or wounded; and at one time the tide of victory was so near turning in their favor, that an officer was despatched by Lord Broghill to Cork to announce his own defeat. This was called the battle of Knockbrack. Soon after this defeat, Limerick surrendered to Ireton on the 26th of October, after a very tedious and obstinate siege.

1652.—On the 12th of May, the garrison of Rosscarbery surrendered to the Parliament forces, after which everything remained quiet in this county. Galway, also a place of great strength, submitted to Sir Charles Coote, who thereby sealed the reduction of Ireland, and concluded the rebellion. After this, Lord Muskerry, Lord Westmeath, O'Connor Roe, Sir William Dangan, Sir Francis Talbot, and others, submitted upon the terms "that they should abide a trial for any murders that may have been committed by them in the beginning of the rebellion, and that those who only assisted in the war were to forfeit two-thirds of their estates, and be banished."

After Ireton's decease, Colonel Fleetwood married his widow, who was a daughter of Cromwell, and was made commander-in-chief of all the forces in Ireland.

High courts of justice were erected to try those accused of murder during the rebellion. The first of these was held in Kilkenny before Mr. Justice Cook. It was held in the very place where the nuncio and Supreme Council used to hold their sittings. Another was held in Dublin, Lord Chief Justice Lowther presiding; and it was before him that Sir Phelim O'Neil, the chief butcher of the rebellion, was tried and condemned to be executed. Others were held in Waterford, Cork, &c., and one was held in Bandon. In the latter place, the depositions used on the occasion were made before John Clerke, John Wheeler, and Peter Wallis. No small portion of the evidence taken in Bandon had reference to the case of Mr. John Burrowes, of Ballinorohur, by which it appears that Mr. Burrowes, his wife, and two of his sons were hanged about two musket-shots to the rear of the rebel encampment, on Killavarrig Hill, by order of Dermod Mac Carthy,

alias Mac Crimeen, and his son Francis, both of Ballinorohur Castle, and to whose honor Burrowes had entrusted himself and his family. The whole country raised an indignant outcry at Mac Crimeen's inhuman act; and "a general rumor prevailed that Burrowes was basely hanged by Mac Crimeen." Being afraid of the consequences, the hero of Ballinorohur endeavored to throw the blame on his kinsman, Mac Carthy Reagh, and actually showed the authorities at Bandon-bridge an order for the execution of poor Burrowes written and signed by him. This Mac Carthy Reagh explained, stating that the order he gave was written after the death of Burrowes and his family, and was given upon the importunity of Mac Crimeen's wife. Mac Carthy Reagh's evidence was in some respects corroborated by one of the rebels—John Crowley, of Clancoolbeg—who was present at an interview between them. He states he was near Mac Carthy Reagh, and very well remembers when Mac Crimeen came up, and asked him what he should do with the Burroweses; whereupon Mac Carthy Reagh, who had just heard of Kilbrittain Castle being taken, replied fiercely, "Go you and them to the Devil, and afterwards where you will!" The upshot of the matter was, that the Bandonians believed Dermot Mac Carthy, of Ballinorohur Castle, to be the murderer; and they hanged him accordingly.

By this time, confidence seems to have been generally restored in this locality. We have in our possession a mortgage effected in this year on a neighboring estate—the east ploughland of Downevourleage, *nunc* Dunworly—for the sum of three hundred pounds.* The

* It was usual at this time for the mortgager to give up possession of the lands to the mortgagee. The bailiff deputed for the office on this occasion was one William Ffynn, of Derrygarraffe, yeoman.

owner was Patrick Roche (Fitz Richard), the senior member for Kinsale in the Parliament called in 1639. This estate was subsequently forfeited by Roche, and conferred by the crown upon Sir George Hamilton, of Nenagh, Tipperary, subject, however, to the claims of the mortgagee. Dunworly was a favorite residence of the Roches, and even still retains some traces of their old mansion-house and gardens.

We are told, that, many years after the forfeiture, Mr. Roche's sister Mary, an elderly lady, arrived from Kinsale, and dwelt in the old castle of the O'Cowigs, which occupies the causeway connecting Dunworly Island with the mainland. From this secluded spot, she used to walk several times a day to the bold promontory of Crow Head, generally in an excited state; in mild weather straining her eyes far out to sea, but, when the tempest raged, she was to be seen on the summit of one of the tallest cliffs, with her long hair streaming backward, and her white garments fluttering in the storm; and with a voice that used to out-top even the deafening roar of the billows, she used to upbraid the King of Spain for not sending his men long before to her assistance. She was supported by the neighboring peasantry, who were accustomed to place in her daily path such supplies of eggs, potatoes, and fish as their humble circumstances could afford. Her clothing was supplied by those relatives who occasionally called to see her, and by some of whom, after her decease, her body was taken round the coast in a boat to Kinsale. The country people used to look upon her with great awe; and many of them were uncertain whether they ought to class with the dead or with the living the *bean uasal ban na vailte*, or the White Lady of the Cliffs.

CHAPTER XIV.

PEACE PROCLAIMED—THE DOWN SURVEY—HELL OR CONNAUGHT—TOLERATION OF OLIVER CROMWELL—THE QUAKERS FIRST VISIT BANDON—MRS. BABYLON'S LOOKING-GLASS—DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL—DR. BRADY BORN IN BANDON—CHARLES II. PROCLAIMED KING—THE IRISH ASK TO BE RESTORED TO THEIR ESTATES—THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT—THE DISSENTERS SEEK FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE—INTOLERANCE OF THE CHURCH PARTY—JUDGE BERNARD.

In 1653, by an act of the provost and town burgesses, dated April 21, the following were appointed "to see after the courtyards of this garrison :"

Messrs. Brooke,	Withers, William,	Dunkin,
Bennett,	Beamish,	Deane,
Woodroffe,	Smith,	Fuller,
Hewett,	Bathurst,	Poulden,
Withers, Nicholas,	Landon,	Jackson.

On the 26th of September, it was declared that the rebels were subdued, and the rebellion appeased and ended. After everything had settled down, there was a great deal of consultation amongst the authorities as to how they should arrange to pay off the army, and dispose of the forfeited estates. This difficulty was at length solved by Lord Broghill, who, at a general council of war, proposed that the kingdom should be surveyed, the number of acres ascertained, and their quality set forth. This being done (the Down survey),*

* All the plates of the maps of the baronies, amounting to two hundred and fifty-two, being on board a ship in the reign of Queen Anne, were captured by a French privateer, and taken into St. Malo. It is surmised that they are now in some of the French archives. As to the maps themselves, a large number were destroyed by a fire in the surveyor-general's house in Essex Street, in 1711.

a fixed sum was placed on the lands, varying in value from four shillings per acre down to even one penny. Upon these estimates, the soldiers drew lots for their arrears; and, in this manner, the greater portion of the forfeited lands were divided.

1654.—Lawrence Spenser, son of the poet, died at his residence in Bandon. His sister Catherine was married to Mr. William Wiseman—one of the former representatives for Bandon—and lived in what is now the old ruin known as Kilbeg Castle.

Oliver Cromwell assumed the protectorship of the Commonwealth of England.

The Irish were ordered to be transplanted to Connaught by the 1st of May. The transplanted had, no doubt, severely tested both the powers and resources of England; besides, the issue was of their own seeking. They had watched her in her extremity; took advantage of her divisions; and trusted, by one united effort, to shake off her dominion for ever. They had rebelled against her desperately and bloodily. They had staked their all upon the hazard of a die, and they lost. Nevertheless, the policy of removing an entire people into a region less known at that time than even the back woods of America are now, was a barbarous one, and must only have suggested itself to the mind of Cromwell when he had thoroughly satisfied himself that his implacable enemies would never quietly submit to his government; and, being thus convinced, he naturally inferred, that the farther apart he kept them and the English colonists, now daily pouring into the country, the less likelihood of a renewal of hostilities; and, though this inexorable measure might have resulted in their extermination—hell, it is said, being the alterna-

tive of Connaught—yet there are many who think it was devised by him as an act of clemency. In truth, the directions given the commissioners appointed to carry out his instructions—that they should provide the dispossessed, and all those friends and relatives who chose to accompany them, with allotments of land as nearly as possible resembling those which they had lately occupied—are favorable to these views. But, notwithstanding what was done, in their behalf, the deprived must have felt the change in their condition most acutely. The Irish gentleman who once lived in his castle, and was the owner of many and many a broad acre, now lay, a miserable outcast, upon his humble bed of heather. For him the grim King of Terrors had no terror; for death to him was not only a relief, but a deliverance.

It is stated, that, upon their arrival in Connaught, many went raving mad; many more hanged themselves; and hundreds, throwing up their allotments, fled in dismay to Spain. So effectual was the clearance of the former occupiers, that, in the neighboring county of Tipperary—a county now overspread with a population as anti-Saxon in its prejudices as any in Ireland—the country had become so uninhabited and waste, that it was impossible to find people to point out the bounds of the lands to those engaged in the Down survey.* Consequently, the surveyors were obliged to apply to government for an order to send back from Connaught four persons to attend them, and show the bounds, &c.

Although the government made great exertions to render the country safe for the new planters, it was impossible to eradicate effectually the entire of the old

* *Vide* "The Plantation of the Barony of Idrone," by John Prendergast, Esq.

inhabitants. Many of these betook themselves to the bogs and mountains, from whence they used to "run out," and take the cattle, and often the lives, of the English settlers. The counties of Kildare and Carlow, stretching out from the base of the Wicklow Mountains, were particularly liable to these incursions. Bands of desperate men, under the command of some dispossessed man of note, formed themselves into bodies, and retired into the wilds, rather than permit themselves to be transplanted to Connaught. These outlaws repeatedly attacked the colonists almost under the very walls of the garrisons. The commissioners, in self-defence, were compelled to resort to very extreme measures. Having heard that two of their soldiers, who had settled in the townland of Lackagh, were barbarously murdered by some of those desperadoes, they seized all the Irish on the townland, and, having tried them by court-martial, four of them were hanged; and the rest, amounting to thirty-seven, including two priests, were transported in one batch to the sugar-plantations of Barbadoes.*

By a memorandum in the corporation records of this year, we find that our civic authorities considered the state bound to contribute towards the debts incurred by the inhabitants in strengthening the defences of the town at the outbreak of the great rebellion. As anything connected with one of the most momentous portions of our history is not only interesting, but should be preserved, we give it in full:

"At the request of Mr. Charles Nicholet, clerk [clergyman], the Corporation of Bandon-bridge was pleased to allow him ten pound towards his charges to make application to the state

* Lingard says there were sixty thousand transported altogether; the husbands being sent to Spain and Belgium, and the wives and children to Barbadoes and other of the West-India Islands. Of these not a single one was surviving in twenty years afterwards.

of England for fifty pound and six pound due to his mother, Mrs. Amy Taylor, for a parcel of iron delivered by her for the fortification of the said corporation in the year '41; for which said sum, I, Charles Nicholet, do acquit, exonerate, and discharge the said corporation for the aforesaid sum of fifty pound and six pound for me and my heirs and assigns, as

"Witness my hand this twenty-first day of May, 1654.

"In the presence of

"CHARLES NICHOLET.

"ABRAHAM SAVAGE.

"CLEMENT WOODROFFE."

1655.—The corporate offices, which had been discontinued in Cork since 1644, were revived; and Sir William Fenton, Maurice Roche, Christopher Oliver, John Morly, John Hodder, and other freemen of the city, met and elected John Hodder, Esq., mayor; and William Hodder and Philip Matthews, sheriffs.

Cromwell allowed the Jews to resettle in England, after a long expulsion of about three hundred and sixty-five years. It appears he could tolerate Turks, Jews, or Atheists—in fact, every one that professed a creed, and every one that did not; but the celebration of the mass he was neither able nor willing to endure.

The first Quaker that ever visited Bandon made his appearance there this year. His name was Francis Howgill. He was received by Edward Cook, a man of great local influence, and who was cornet of Oliver Cromwell's own troop of horse, which, at that time, lay in Bandon. He was also land agent to the Earl of Cork.* Mr. Cook accompanied Howgill "on the first day of the week to the public-worship house of the town, where the said Francis declared truth among the people." Cook invited them to a meeting to be held at his house in the evening. Accordingly, a great concourse of

* *Vide* Wright's "History of the Quakers."

people assembled, to whom Francis preached the gospel, and with such good results that many confessed to the truth of what he had preached, and joined in the Society of Friends; such as Edward Cook and Lucretia Cook, his wife, Daniel and Sarah Massey, Robert and Mary Mallins, William Smith, Catherine Smith, Matthew Prin, William Driver, Joan Frank, Thomas Biss, &c. Many of the men here mentioned were soldiers in Cromwell's troop of horse. Mr. Cook proved a sincere convert. "He embraced the truth with his whole heart, and retained it." On the following Saturday, Cook, in company with Edward Burrough, Francis Howgill, and James Sickelmore, proceeded to Limerick, where they were not suffered to preach long, "being thrust forth through the gates by order."

In some years after, the founder of the body, George Fox, visited Bandon, where he had an extraordinary vision. He says :

"Being in Bandon, there appeared to me, in a vision, a very ugly visaged man, of a black and dark look.* My spirit struck at him in the power of God; and it seemed to me that I rode over him with my horse, and my horse set his foot on the side of his face. When I came down in the morning, I told a friend the command of the Lord was to me to ride to Cork."

Although the religious opinions and proceedings of the Quakers were unmercifully assailed, yet they were not always willing to submit tamely to insult. They sometimes very sharply retorted, as is evident by a book written by one of them at this time, and entitled, "Mrs. Babylon's Looking-glass; or, a Brief Description

* Probably a specimen of the *taurus antiquus niger*, or the old black bull—the name applied here in former days to a Presbyterian.

of the Doings in Satan's Synagogue, otherwise called the Church of England, who is mounted upon the Beasts, and agoing with Speed in the Wide Way of Destruction." After this charitable piece of information, the author, who seems convinced there could be no doubt as to *his* ultimate happiness, acquaints us that his book is written by a servant of Christ, whose name is written in the Book of Life.

The Bandon Congregation of Friends was never very numerous or influential. It struggled on for about one hundred and fifty years, and then died out in the person of Tommy Weldon—a fat, Quaker-like little fellow, who died about the year 1807. His was the last interment in the Quakers' burying-ground; after which it was ploughed up, and turned into a potato-garden, the produce of which was so unctuous and creamy, that many of the poor people who cooked the potatoes used to aver that they saw some of Tommy Weldon's fat floating on the top of the pot. The following are amongst the names of those Friends who worshipped in Bandon during the continuance of the society here :

Edward Cook,	Robert Mander,	Abraham Uncles,
Daniel Massey,	Edward Russell,	Gideon Cocker,
Robert Mallins,	Joshua Russell,	Henry Hussey,
William Smith,	Eliazer Hutchinson,	Obadiah Hutchins,
Matthew Prin,	Isaac Weymour,	Thomas Weldon.
William Driver,	George Mansfield,	
Thomas Biss,	Mansfield Westcomb,	

1656.—All the Roman-Catholic inhabitants were turned out of Cork and Kinsale by order of Cromwell and Fleetwood.

The Quakers met with much success this year in enumerating amongst their converts, in Cork, Major

Wallis and Colonel Phaire; and, in Kinsale, Major Hodder and others.

1657.—This year great progress was made in the settlement of the country. Fences were built; the lands drained; timber planted; and houses erected, whose red brick chimneys, peeping through luxuriant foliage, imparted to the landscape a coloring, confidence, and tranquillity to which the unhappy country had been for many years a stranger.

1658.—On the 3rd of September—a peculiarly lucky day in his own estimation—died Oliver Cromwell. He was succeeded in the protectorship by his son Richard, who, being anxious to retire into private life, soon signed his own abdication. After Cromwell's death, Lord Broghill, not having the fear of Cromwell before his eyes, and seeing that Richard's government must soon come to an end, resolved to take time by the forelock, and declare for the second Charles. Accordingly, he sent his brother Francis, Lord Shannon, to Brussels, with eight lines on a small scrap of paper, nicely quilted in the collar of his doublet, to assure the king he had five thousand of his Protestant subjects (all tried men), at and near Cork, ready to attend his majesty. Lord Shannon had an interview with Charles, who resolved on going to Ireland; but, having been made aware that General Monk was scheming for his restoration, he altered his design, but acknowledged Lord Broghill's *singular loyalty*, who, we must remember, fought so strenuously against the late king, that the Commonwealth awarded him one thousand pounds per annum for ever out of the estate of Lord Muskerry.

1659.—The Castle of Dublin was surprised by the royalists, and Major-General Sir Hardress Waller taken prisoner, and sent to England.

Sir William Petty, of the Down survey, was sworn in as a free burgess of the Bandon corporation.

Nicolas Brady was born on the 28th of October, this year, in Bandon. He was son of Major Nicolas Brady, who fought on the royalist side in the rebellion, and was descended lineally from Hugh Brady,* the first Protestant Bishop of Meath. At twelve years of age, he was sent to Westminster School, where he was chosen king's scholar, and from whence he was subsequently elected a student of Christ Church. Having remained three or four years in Oxford, he removed to Dublin, where his father resided, and obtained from the university of that city the degrees of B.A., M.A., and D.D. successively. Soon after his ordination, he was appointed to a prebend in St. Finn Barr's Cathedral in Cork, and to the parish of Kilnaglory in the county. During his residence in Cork, he became conspicuous for his advocacy of non-resistance, divine right of kings, and all the other doctrines then so greatly in vogue with the absolutists; and it was, we may safely assume, owing in a great measure to this that he occupied so high a position in Jacobite estimation. It was certainly fortunate for the Bandon people that it was so; for, when Major-General Mac Carthy had taken their town, and was about to execute ten of the ringleaders of the Black Monday revolt, after which Bandon and its inhabitants were doomed to perish in the flames, Brady interposed, and, by his influence, was enabled not only

* The original name of the Bradys was Carbhullis, which, in the thirteenth century, they changed to Mac Brada, or Brady. This family gave several bishops to the Roman-Catholic church. Ware enumerates no less than five of Breffny, one of Ardagh, and another of Meath. The latter, on embracing the reformed faith, was confirmed in his appointment by Queen Elizabeth; and from him Dr. Brady was descended.

to bar the cruel intentions of Mac Carthy, but, in addition, to procure very easy terms for his fellow-townsmen. In 1690, being deputed by the Bandonians to seek the assistance of the English Parliament in removing some grievances of which they complained, he went to London, where he met with such encouragement as a divine, that he was induced to leave Ireland, and settle there. In a short time, he became one of the most popular preachers in the city; and, a vacancy having occurred, he was nominated to the Church of St. Catherine Cree, and also to the lectureship of St. Michael in Wood Street. The rectory of Richmond, where he kept a first-class school and completed the versifying of the Psalms, was conferred on him in the same year, as was the wealthy living of Clapham; and for some time, too, he had the spiritual charge of Stratford-upon-Avon.* He first filled the office of chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, then to William and Mary, and finally to Queen Anne.

In 1692, we find him first distinguishing himself as a poet, when he was declared the writer of the prize-ode then annually competed for on St. Cecilia's Day. This composition was so much admired at this time, that it was set to music by Harry Purcell, and performed with great applause. He also delivered a sermon in St. Bride's Church on sacred poetry, which he subsequently published under the head of "Church Music vindicated." He translated the "*Æneid*" of Virgil; brought out three volumes of sermons; and, after his decease, his son brought out as many more. But it is principally

* It was an easy matter to get preferment at this time, as nearly four hundred clergymen of the Established Church threw up their livings rather than swear allegiance to William, or acknowledge him as their sovereign.

in connection with Brady and Tate's* version of the Psalms that his name has been passed down to posterity. The first portion of this rhythmical arrangement of the sacred songs of David appeared in 1695, and was entitled, "An Essay of a New Version of the Psalms of David, consisting of the First Twenty, by N. Brady and N. Tate." After the lapse of three years, this was followed by the "New Version, completely fitted to the Tunes used in Churches;" but the supplement, containing the church hymns, was not completed until 1709.

Throughout the whole of his life, Dr. Brady was held in the highest esteem "as a man and as a minister;" and as a poet, too, he was not unknown in his day. As a man, he was brave, kind, and generous; as a Christian minister, he labored hard in his vocation; and as a poet, the two centuries that have almost since elapsed have failed to produce anything deemed worthy of replacing the harmonious and devotional style of Brady and Tate's version of the Psalms.† Dr. Brady died in London on the 20th of May, 1726.

1660.—The convention, having thrust aside all the Cromwellites, met on the 7th of February, and appointed Sir James Barry chairman. Their first act was to order

* Nahum Tate was born in Dublin in 1652. Scarcely anything is known about him, until he went to reside in London, where he led a very idle and dissolute life. He adopted no profession, and contrived to support himself by writing verses, and dedicating them to some of the principal men of the day—one of whom (Lord Dorset) procured for him the post of poet laureate, rendered vacant by the death of Shadwell, in 1690. In addition to a number of miscellaneous poems, Tate was the author of no less than nine plays—one of which, an adaptation of "King Lear," had a successful run for several years. He died within the unhallowed precincts of the Mint, where he had fled to avoid his numerous creditors.

† It may be difficult now-a-days to say what part each of them performed in the work so inseparably connected with their names. But, looking at the characters of the two men, we may lawfully presume that it was Brady supplied the strain reverential, and Tate the rhyme.

a fast and humiliation for their sins. They shortly afterwards accepted Charles's declaration from Breda, and cheerfully agreed to his restoration. As soon as this was done, the Irish began to take possession of their former estates; and this practice was becoming so general, that the convention were obliged to take active measures to stop it; and, on the 1st of June, the king issued a proclamation with a similar intent. Charles was proclaimed king on the 29th of May, and the same day made his public entry into London.

Dr. Michael Boyle and eleven others were consecrated bishops in St. Patrick's Cathedral, to fill the sees vacated in Cromwell's time.

Lord Broghill was created Earl of Orrery, and made Lord President of Munster.

The Irish petitioned the king, setting forth their oppression and loyalty during the war, and begging to be restored to their estates and liberties. Of this the English party got timely notice, and asked that a fair hearing may be allowed on both sides; which being granted, Lords Orrery and Mountrath, and six more, appeared on the English side, and Sir Nicolas Plunkett and others on the Irish. The king attended the council, accompanied by the Duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and other persons of distinction. The Irish being directed to proceed, Sir Nicolas opened the pleadings by declaring how much they had suffered for their loyalty to his majesty under the late usurper; how unjustly their lands were taken away; and what hard measures they had met with under the transplantation. They therefore humbly prayed that they may be restored, &c. Whereupon Lord Orrery produced a paper, which Sir Nicolas could not deny to be in his

own handwriting, which, being read, proved to be an order made at the Irish Supreme Council, wherein they declared unanimously to persecute Ormond—their lord lieutenant—and his party with fire and sword. Another document was also brought forward, which contained instructions issued by the same party to Sir Nicolas Plunkett and another to go to the pope, and, in the name of the Supreme Council of Ireland, to offer him the kingdom; if he refused, then to tender it to the King of Spain; in case he should decline, to the King of France; if rejected by him, to the Duke of Lorraine; and, if by the latter, to any other Catholic prince. Upon which Orrery triumphantly observed, “These men were not likely to prove good subjects, who offered to give away the kingdom from his majesty.” Whereupon Charles declared he was fully satisfied that all the sufferings which befell the Irish were only what they deserved.

1661.—On the 30th of January, by way of atoning for the national act of justice the same date in 1649, an act was perpetrated in London, which, for diabolical and atrocious spite, has never been surpassed. Every one knows that the grave is sanctified by the reverence and awe with which we invest the last resting-place of those “that have set out before us,” and that we look with horror upon any one that would dare intrude upon the sacred privacy of the dead. What, then, must be our astonishment, what our feelings, to find that the exuberant loyalty of those wretches, whose craven hearts well nigh stood still before the stern presence of the great protector, was capable of nothing larger than the exhumation of his mouldering remains, and fastening upon the felon’s gibbet at Tyburn the enchained bones

of one who, in greatness, out-Cæsared great Cæsar himself?—the man at whose command great Louis lowered his proud crest, and whose voice, sweeping across the Alps and thundering through the valleys of Piedmont, scared the royal bloodhound of Savoy from the carnage of his Protestant subjects. And yet, to catch at the fleeting applause of those who were neither famed for the purity of their morals nor the sincerity of their professions, there were monsters to crawl out from their lurking-holes, lay their sacrilegious hands on the relics of that great man, and dishonor them before the world.

On the 8th of May, a Parliament assembled at Chichester House, Dublin, from which we miss the old familiar presence of our old friend, Mr. Anthony Doppinge. The members for Bandon were Robert Georges, LL.D.,* Kilbrew, county Meath; and John Reade, Coolerelouge. The lord primate, Speaker of the Irish House of Lords, made a flaming speech at the opening of this Parliament in praise of the great, good, and virtuous Charles II., it abounding with sickening adulation, arrant nonsense, and unmitigated blasphemy. One extract will suffice :

“ And is not this place, then, a Mount of Transfiguration ? Hath not our dread sovereign lord the king, of whom the world is not worthy, been banished into foreign countries, so that he might take up that expression, ‘ The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests,’ but the son and undoubted heir of three glorious kingdoms—nay, the native and lineal king of them—had not a place to rest his head in ? But praise be to that God that, at the same time he made a stone to be his pillow, sweetened his repose with heavenly visions ! ”

* In James II.'s reign, Dr. Georges was deprived of a large estate, which he held under the Act of Settlement, and which had previously belonged to a Mr. Barnwell, by whom it was forfeited for the active part he took with the rebels in 1641.

The only matter of importance passed during the eight sessions through which this Parliament lasted was the Act of Settlement—an act upon which the tithes of most of the estates in this country were founded, until the introduction of the Court of Encumbered Estates. It deprived of their lands all those found guilty of participation in the great rebellion, and conferred them on soldiers, volunteers, and others who were found to have deserved well of their country. Dr. Georges, the senior member for Bandon, was the person entrusted with the presentation of “the great Bill of Settlement” to the king.

The Rev. Hugh Dunsterville, M.A., was appointed to the incumbency of Kilbrogan. He was also Arch-deacon of Cloyne.

1662.—The corporation, being deeply in debt and sorely in want of money, were about making a heavy rate to extricate themselves from their difficulties, and in all probability would have had to resort to such an obnoxious measure, had not the undermentioned generously came forward, and contributed the sums affixed to their names :

Clement Woodroffe . . .	£47 0	Abraham Savage, jun. £10 0	
John Landon . . .	47 0	William Wright . . .	10 0
John Poole . . .	20 0	Robert Blanchett . . .	10 0
Thomas French . . .	20 0	John Braly . . .	10 0
John Polden . . .	20 0	Nicholas Wright . . .	10 0
Jonathan Bennett . . .	10 0	John King . . .	10 0
Mathias Perceval . . .	10 0	Abraham Savage . . .	7 7
Edward Turner . . .	10 0		

1663.—Some of the Dissenters—including Colonels Abbott, Jepson, and Blood, Major Warren, and others—formed a conspiracy to seize on Dublin Castle; but the lord lieutenant had timely notice from Lord Orrery,

and frustrated their design. Upon this a pretext was founded for disarming all the people—Protestant as well as Catholic—throughout the kingdom; some few only being excepted, in whom the government placed confidence. A great many officers and others were arrested for being concerned in this conspiracy, in which they had declared for liberty of conscience, the Protestant religion in its purity, &c.; and, indeed, it is recorded,* that, throughout Great Britain, no less than eight thousand Protestant Dissenters perished in prison during the reign of the second Charles, guilty of no other crime, but that of dissenting from the Church of England as by law established. An act of Parliament was also passed, empowering justices “to break open doors where any meeting of a religious nature shall be held in any other manner than according to the Liturgy and practice of the Church of England,” and imposing a fine of twenty pounds for the first offence, forty for the second, and so on. In order effectually to keep all things quiet in Munster, Lord Orrery had several spies placed up and down through the province, to whom he allowed annual pensions, and who, in return, supplied him with constant intelligence of all things that happened.

Francis Bernard, familiarly known as Judge Bernard, was born this year at Castle Mahon, Bandon. He was son of Francis Bernard, the purchaser of Castle Mahon and the adjacent lands,† and grandson of Francis,‡ the

* *Vide De Laune's* “Plea for the Non-Conformists.”

† Castle Mahon and the adjacent lands were purchased from Charles James, Esq., who was married to Abigail, daughter of Henry Beecher.

‡ Francis was the third son of Sir Henry Bernard of Acornbank, Westmoreland.

first of the family that settled in Ireland *temp.* Queen Elizabeth. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur Freke, of Rathbarry Castle, and grand-daughter of Sir Percy Smith, of Ballinatrav, by Mary Boyle, sister of Richard, first Earl of Cork. Mr. Bernard devoted himself to the study of the law, and soon attained eminence in his profession. In 1693, he succeeded John Dowdall as Recorder of Kinsale, and, the same year, married Alice, daughter of Stephen Ludlow, Esq., and grand-niece of that uncompromising republican, General Ludlow,* who held an important command under Fairfax at the decisive battle of Naseby; and by her he had numerous issue. In 1713, he was selected to fill the office of solicitor-general, and was very shortly after raised to the bench, being appointed one of the judges of her majesty's Court of Common Pleas. For a long time previous to his elevation, Mr. Bernard possessed a very extensive practice, and ranked high amongst those learned in the law. On several occasions, we find per-

* At the restoration, General Ludlow fled to Switzerland, where several attempts were made to assassinate him, and other English refugees, at the instigation of the Stuarts. It was well for him he escaped from England, as he would have been undoubtedly one of the very first to share the fate of his valiant companion in arms, Major-General Harrison, "who was so barbarously executed, that he was cut down whilst yet alive, and saw his bowels thrown into the fire." Chief Justice Coke—another friend of his, who had been solicitor for the High Court of Justice at the trial of Charles I.—was dragged to the scaffold upon a hurdle, upon which was the head of Harrison, with its ghastly face uncovered and turned towards him. Coke met death like a man. He declared that, "as to the part he had taken in the action, he was most ready to seal it with his blood." Mr. Peters, Mr. Scot, Colonel Scroop, Colonel Jones, and several others—relying upon the Act of Indemnity, and the proclamation calling on them to surrender themselves within fourteen days, under the penalty of exception from the benefit of said act for life and estate—came out boldly from their hiding-places, and unreservedly placed themselves in the royal hands. But they soon had reason to regret their resolve; for, with the characteristic mercilessness and treachery of this branch of right divine, they were quickly seized upon, and nearly the entire number hanged and quartered.

mission sought from the House of Commons for him to appear as counsel before the Lords. He was leader in the celebrated case of Lord Limerick *versus* Annesley, when he appeared for the plaintiff; also in the great appeal case of Sir Humphrey Jervis *versus* Offley, *in re* Richard Martin, and many others. In 1692, he first obtained a seat in Parliament, having been returned for Clonakilty in conjunction with his cousin, Sir Percy Freke, of Castle Freke. In the Parliament of 1695, in connection with Edward Riggs, of Riggaraile, he first sat for Bandon; and, immediately on its opening, he presented a petition from the inhabitants of Bandon, setting forth their grievances in relation to the siege and capture of the town by Major-General Mac Carthy, and the sum of money they were forced to pay, which they were obliged to borrow from some merchants at Cork, and for which execution was taken out against them to their "inevitable ruin," unless relieved by the house, &c.* Through Mr. Bernard's exertions, a committee was appointed, evidence taken, a report furnished, and eventually his persevering efforts were crowned with success; it having been ordered, "That the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds be raised off the province of Munster for the relief of the people of Bandon."

In 1703, he was again returned for Bandon, together with Richard Georges, of Meath, afterwards quartermaster-general; and, in 1713, he sat for Bandon for the last time. On this occasion, his co-representative was Mr. Bladen, of Albany Hatch in Essex.

Mr. Bernard was a warm supporter of the Protestant interest; for his attachment to which he was attainted in King James's time, as were his father and brother,

* For further particulars, see 1695.

and had his estates forfeited. These, however, were soon restored on the accession of William and Mary. During the course of a long and successful professional career, he amassed very considerable wealth, with which he bought largely of the lands confiscated under William; and, by judicious purchases at this period, he was enabled to collect many of the extensive and valuable estates since enjoyed by his descendants.

He died at Castle Bernard, in 1731, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in Ballymoodan Church, where a handsome white marble monument, by Flaxman, has been erected to his memory.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FRENCH EXPECTED IN KINSALE—ONE TROOP OF HORSE AND THREE COMPANIES OF FOOT RAISED IN BANDON—CHARLES PORT IN KINSALE COMMENCED—THE FIRST REQUEST TO THE POOR OF THE TOWN—JOHN LANGLEY'S WILL—A NEW PLAN FOR DIMINISHING THE IRISH—SEVERE MEASURES AGAINST THE TORIES—HOW TO KEEP A PARISH IN GOOD ORDER—OUR OLD CHARTER SET ASIDE—HO, BROTHER TEAGUE!—TYRCONNELL VISITS CORK—CLOSING OF THE GATES OF DERRY—THE BLACK MONDAY INSURRECTION—WHO RANG THE BELL?

POPE ALEXANDER VII. issued a Bull (1665), absolving the Irish from the excommunication issued against them by the nuncio.

Several richly laden ships were taken from the Dutch, and brought into Kinsale.

The plague raged in London, and carried off sixty-eight thousand people.

1666.—The Rev. John Easton was admitted Incumbent of Kilbrogan. He was also Prebendary of Ross and of the Holy Trinity, Cork. He died in three years afterwards.

Another conspiracy of the republicans was discovered by Lord Orrery, the purport of which was to restore the Long Parliament. Over forty of its members were in the plot "to pull down the king and the lords, and, instead of bishops, to set up a sober ministry."

On the 11th of June, the Roman-Catholic clergy met in convocation, at Dublin, "by connivance of the lord lieutenant, pursuant to his majesty's orders." It was expected they would have asked pardon of the king for the rebellion of 1641, and give new assurances of their allegiance; instead of which, one of the bishops stated they knew no crime they were guilty of, and therefore did not need any pardon. But it is supposed the real secret of the matter was, they expected assistance from France, against which country England had declared war. The greater portion of this year was spent in preparations to receive the enemy, who were almost daily expected.

Lord Orrery—the Lord President of Munster—who was particularly active, devoted a great deal of his attention to Kinsale, at which port, he was informed by the Duke of Ormond, the French intended to effect a landing. Orrery lost no time in setting that place in order. He laid a boom across the channel; constructed bastions and curtains; erected earthworks upon the ramparts; placed six thousand pounds' weight of biscuits in the fort; employed "a good chirurgeon and two mates, with a chest of medicine to clap in there;" sent to Limerick for two hundred hand-grenades; and set to work all the basket-makers in Bandon making gabions and dust-baskets. As soon as he had rendered Kinsale defensible, he hastened up to Bandon—"the frontier town of the west"—out of which he raised three companies of foot and a troop of horse. During his stay here, he had an interview with some of the principal gentry of the west of the county, who readily offered to assist him with four hundred foot and three

hundred horse, which he gladly accepted. The officers of this force were as follow :

CAVALRY.

1ST TROOP.

Major Anthony Woodbiffe,
Lieutenant Emanuel Moore,
Cornet Francis Armitage,
Quartermaster Robt. Harris.

2ND TROOP.

Captain Robert Gookin,
Lieutenant George Syma,
Cornet John Langton,
Quartermaster Walter Baldwin.

3RD TROOP.

Captain Richard Hull,
Lieutenant Thomas Beecher,
Cornet Bryan Townsend,
Quartermaster Edward Townsend.

INFANTRY.

COMPANY No. 1.

Captain Andrew Ruddock,
Lieutenant John Ballew,
Ensign ———.

COMPANY No. 3.

Captain John Gifford,
Lieutenant Boyle Hull,
Ensign Richard Hutchins.

COMPANY No. 2.

Captain John Freake,
Lieutenant David Jerman,
Ensign Francis Beamish.

COMPANY No. 4.

Captain Richard Townsend,
Lieutenant John Gifford,
Ensign Thomas Curtis.

To these were subsequently added Armitage's company of foot, also Wade's and Stawel's. Of all these officers, and of others who solicited appointments, Orrery speaks creditably enough, with one exception :

“Gookin is rich, a man of good brains, and fit to command horse; Townsend has money and brains also; Gifford, although very stout, is very poor, yet he is as well to command foot as Townsend; Moore is a good horse officer, and an honest man; but, as for Lieutenant-Colonel Arnop, he is somewhat crazed.”

Lord Orrery convened a meeting of the citizens of Cork, and gave them an account of the burning of the

fleet at Chatham by the Dutch, and, at the same time, issued strict orders for the suppression of all places of worship belonging to the Dissenters in the city and country.

Soon after, in September, peace was proclaimed in Cork between England, France, Denmark, and Holland, with great formality, and with drums, trumpets, &c.

Several of the Dutch prisoners taken during the war were lodged for safety in Bandon, where the government agreed to grant them a penny a day each for their support; but this miserable sum was not only insufficient for the purpose intended, but it was, in addition, paid so irregularly, that the unfortunate Hollanders would, in all probability, have been starved had they not been liberally assisted by the townspeople.

1668.—The Earl of Orrery received orders to lay down the presidency of Munster; and, at the same time, a soothing letter came from the king himself, thanking him for his great services. Upon his arrival in London, however, articles were laid before the English House of Commons, of which he was a member, impeaching him of high treason; but Orrery defended himself so successfully, that he was not only acquitted of all blame, but received the congratulations of the king and the nobility. The former was so pleased with his conduct, that he presented him with a gratuity of seven thousand pounds.

1669.—Richard Synge, son of the Bishop of Cork, was appointed to the incumbency of Kilbrogan, and, at the same time, was appointed Chancellor of Ross, which position he subsequently resigned, and was made archdeacon.

1670.—Charles Fort, Kinsale, was commenced. The

foundation-stone was laid by the Earl of Orrery. It cost seventy thousand pounds. On the side facing the sea were mounted one hundred pieces of brass cannon, capable of throwing shot from twenty-four to forty-two pounds in weight.

In the account furnished of money received and paid by Captain John Poole, of Bandon, during his provostship this year, we find several items which give us an insight into the personal expenditure, local requirements, and the usages of those primitive times :

“My expences at ye assises when wee had a tryall—Earl of Barrymores business . . .		£1 10 0
For poasting of letter at same tyme . . .		0 3 8
My expences at ye summer assises . . .		1 0 0
Paid a footman for coming from Corke w th a lett ^r . . .		0 2 6
Expences on my journey to Charleville . . .		1 10 0
For makeing eight halberts . . .		2 16 0
For graveling ye bridge . . .		0 0 6
For ye Rock of Inishanon . . .		3 0 0
Mr. Francis Borne, for a yard and interest of £9 10s. 0d. . .		0 19 0
For whipping a boy and woaman* . . .		0 2 0
A man for going to Cap ^{tn} Hungerfords . . .		0 0 10”

1672.—By a proclamation this year, Roman Catholics were forbidden to enter any of the walled cities or towns; and those domiciled within them were obliged to leave.

* The same chivalrous forbearance that signalizes the present age in dealing with that portion of our humanity known as “the fair sex,” and which would fain impress upon us that a woman can do no wrong, did not prevail in those rude days. Joan Booth, for instance, who, only a few years previously, was brought before the provost and free burgesses for making use of her tongue too trippingly—a lingual accomplishment, by the way, not even yet quite out of fashion—was ordered to be ducked in a horse-pond. “But upon her submission upon her bended knees, and her promising never to call Mr. Hethrington ‘a base rogue’ again, her penance was remitted for the present.”

The population of Ireland, according to Sir William Petty, at this time, was about one million three hundred and twenty thousand. In 1652—*i.e.*, twenty years before—it was only eight hundred and fifty thousand.

1674.—The Rev. George Synge was appointed Incumbent of Kilbrogan in the room of his brother Richard, who resigned. He was married to Mary, daughter of Mr. Thomas Hewitt, of Clancocole.

Thomas Harrison bequeathed ten pounds per annum to the poor of Bandon. He was married to Grace Townsend, relict of Mr. Townsend, and daughter of Mathias Anstis, of Bandon. One-half of this bequest is distributed annually amongst the poor of Kilbrogan, and the other half amongst those of Ballymoodan, in accordance with testator's will.

A great many of Cromwell's soldiers had settled in and about Bandon, many of whom, as was to be expected, were actuated by feelings of the bitterest hostility towards their Irish neighbors. Some curious light is thrown on this subject by the will of John Langly, of Ballylangly. As this document is one of the richest and rarest gems of its class that we have ever met with, and is as likely to prove as amusing as it is rare, we have great pleasure in placing it *in puris naturalibus* before our readers :

"I, John Langly, of Wincanton, in Somersetshire, and settled in Ireland since 1650, now in my right mind and wits, do make my will in my own handwriting. I do leave all my household goods, and farm of two hundred and fifty-three acres of Ballylangly, to my son, commonly called 'Stubborn Jack'—to him and his heirs for ever—provided he marries a Protestant woman, but not Grace Kenny or Alice Kenny, who called me 'Oliver's whelp.' My new buckskin breeches, and my silver tobacco-stopper with 'J. L.' on the top, I give to

John Lamb, my comrade, who helped me off at the storming of Clonmel, where I was shot through the leg. My said son John shall keep my body above ground six days and six nights after I am dead; and whosoever shall lay me out, for so doing shall have five shillings. My body shall be put on the oak table in the brown room, and fifty Irishmen shall be invited to my wake; and each man shall have two quarts of my best March beer, each man to have a dish and a knife laid out before him; and, when this liquor is out, nail up my coffin, and commit me to the earth. This is my will.

"Witness my hand this third day of March, 1674.

"JOHN LANGLY."

In a foot-note, it is stated, that the reason Mr. Langly assigned to his friends for inviting the Irishmen to his wake—whom every one knew he hated—was, "That, when they'd get drunk, they may kill each other, and in this way do something towards lessening their damned breed."

1676.—The following subsidies were this year raised off the properties of the undermentioned noblemen of this county; and, from the amount assessed on each estate, we may perceive in what relation the owners stood to one another as regards their property and income:

Earl of Cork . . .	£110 0	Earl of Courcy . .	£2 0
Earl of Barrymore .	30 0	Lady Clancarthy .	15 0
Earl of Carbery . .	15 0	Bishop Cork & Ross	32 16
Earl of Clancarthy .	40 0	Bishop of Cloyne .	41 4
Earl of Orrery . .	20 0	Co. and city of Cork	1364 18

The Earl of Cork paid more than any nobleman in Ireland, not even excepting the Duke of Ormond, who was only rated at one hundred pounds.

1677.—The Irish in Cork were ordered to keep their markets outside the city walls.

The Lady Mary of England, daughter of James, Duke of York, married William, Prince of Orange.

1678.—Dr. Edward Synge, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, died this year. He left several charitable bequests, amongst which was one to the poor of Innoshannon. He was succeeded by Peter Sheridan.

1679.—Upon the arrival of the news announcing the discovery of a conspiracy in England for restoring the Roman-Catholic religion, a proclamation was issued directing the seizure of all the near relatives of the Tories, and imprisoning them until the Tories themselves were either killed or taken prisoners; and another was issued to apprehend the Roman-Catholic priests of every parish, and transport them beyond the seas, unless, within the period of fourteen days, the perpetrators of any robberies or murders committed in their respective parishes were given up, killed, or such information given as would lead to their apprehension, &c. Same day, a reward of ten pounds was offered for the apprehension of any Jesuit or titular bishop.

The Earl of Orrery died at Castlemartyr, after a painful illness, and was buried, on the 18th of October, in St. Mary's Church, Youghal.

1680.—William Penn received a charter for planting a colony in America. He induced a great many of his co-religionists—Quakers—to go out with him. They named their settlement Pennsylvania in compliment to the founder.

A great comet appeared, and, from its proximity to the earth, terrified the inhabitants. It remained visible from the 3rd of November to the March following.

1681.—The Duke of Ormond (the lord lieutenant) arrived at Kinsale on the 22nd of August, and visited the new fort, where he and his retinue were lodged. Next day, he dined at Sir Robert Southwell's, and, in

the afternoon, went to see some pilchard fishery. On the 24th, he dined with Sir Richard Booth at the old fort; and on the 25th—the day of his departure—he proposed the health of His Majesty King Charles II., which was responded to by the fort with a salvo of artillery; upon which he changed the name from Rincurran Fort to Charles Fort, by which designation it is now known.

1682.—At an assizes held for the county, the grand jury addressed the king, “thanking him for the blessings of peace, security, and a flourishing trade.” The county of the city of Cork did the same, “declaring their abhorrence and detestation of the plot and late association.”

1683.—There was a very severe frost, which continued many weeks this winter in Bandon. In Cork, the river Lee was frozen to such an extent, that carriages easily passed over it.

1685.—Charles II. died on the 6th of February this year. He is thus described by Rochester in a few sarcastic lines, supposed to be written on his tomb:

“Here lies our mutton-eating king,
Whose word no man relies on:
He never said a foolish thing;
He never did a wise one.”

During his illness, some member of the Established Church attended him, to whose ministrations he evinced the utmost indifference; but, on the Rev. Father Hudleston being brought to his bedside, he willingly received the communion at his hands, and shortly after expired.

Upon the accession of James II., the Irish began to get very unruly; and one of them (Major Lawless)

caused Sir Edward Moore, who lived in our vicinity, Edward Riggs, Esq., afterwards member for Bandon, and thirty-three others, to be indicted for high treason. Sir Edward Moore was charged with the heinous offence of being too good a Protestant, whilst Riggs was accused of saying, that, if he could not live quietly in Ireland, he would go to England. They were all tried before a jury; and, though the above facts were proved, they were acquitted of the treason, which took such an effect upon the lawless *ursa major*, that he died a few days after of a broken heart.

On the 24th of December, a *quo warranto* was issued against every corporate town in Ireland by Lord Tyrconnell, who employed Rice, the chief baron,* and Nagle,† the attorney-general, to carry out the work; and with such expedition did they proceed, that, in two successive terms, nearly all were condemned. New charters were issued in place of the old ones, by means of which the corporate officers, &c., were appointed; but these, we are told, were for the most part such inconsiderable and beggarly fellows, that they were unable to pay the fees demanded of them. The sheriffs were equally as bad. Some of them are described as being men "without freeholds and without sense;" and one of them (Turlogh O'Donnelly, who served two years as High Sheriff of Tyrone) is stated to have been

* Sir Stephen Rice, before his elevation to the bench, was in good repute as a lawyer; but it was for his inveterate hostility to the Protestant interest and to the Act of Settlement he was principally known. Concerning the latter, a favorite expression of his was, that he would drive a coach and six horses through it.

† Richard Nagle, subsequently knighted and made Secretary of State by James, was originally designed for the priesthood, and spent some years amongst the Jesuits with the intention of becoming one of that order.

so deficient in common honesty, that when his son stole some bullocks from his neighbor, Mr. Hamilton, of Callidon, he brought them to his father's (the sheriff's) house; but that high functionary, instead of instantly restoring them to the owner, had some of them killed for his own use; and the rest, in due course, would have shared the same fate had not Mr. Hamilton fortunately discovered who the thief was, and where the cattle were secreted. The live ones were given up to him, and a bond was passed for sixteen pounds for the others; but, when Mr. Hamilton sued the high sheriff for this sum, that worthy, in order to avoid being arrested, actually enlisted as a private soldier.

By the charter conferred upon Bandon, one Teige Mac Carthy was appointed provost; and twenty-four burgesses were, at the same time, elected to sit with him. When news was brought that Daniel Mac Carthy Reagh would arrive in Bandon from Cork, on a certain day, with the new charter, and also that he intended raising money off the town, and, if possible, enlisting soldiers there for James, several adventurous spirits from Bandon, accompanied by some people from Kilpatrick, resolved on awaiting his approach on the banks of the Brinny river, near the bridge, where they pretended to be fishing; having previously determined on making him a prisoner, and burning the new charter with all becoming honors. But, by some mischance, he heard of their design, and contrived to get safe to town with his charge. Intelligence of this soon reached them, and, moreover, that Mac Carthy was accompanied by a Roman-Catholic priest, who had in his possession a veritable link from the chain of St. Peter. When the waylayers heard this, they became outrageous; but a

blue-black Presbyterian of the party became downright furious. Nothing could mollify him. The priest, of course, he looked upon as a matter of duty to hate; and, if he had his will — But that link—that symbol of what the admirers of John Knox might expect for the future—he abominated! At length, after exhausting a long catalogue of ferocious invectives, he concluded with swearing by the solemn league and covenant, that, if he could lay hands on the link, he would make a bob of it to catch eels with.

Tyreconnell, who was lieutenant-general of the army, not only deprived the militia of their arms, but turned all the Protestant soldiers out of it, pretending they were Cromwellians or their descendants.

1686.—The Earl of Clarendon was removed from the lord lieutenancy, to make room for Tyreconnell, whose arrival as lord deputy was burlesqued by some wag of the day in the following verses:

“Ho, broder Teague! dost hear de decree,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

Dat we shall have a new deputie?

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, lilli burlero, lero, lero, bullin a la;

Lero, lero, lilli burlero, lero, lero, bullin a la.

“And he will cut de Englishman’s troate,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

Dough, by my shoul, de English do prate,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

“Dat de law’s on dere side, and Crish knows what,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la;

But de king is wid us; and, yerra! why not?

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" And, if de dispense do come from de pope,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
We'll hang Magna Charta and dem in a rope,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la.
Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" For de good Talbot is made a great lord,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
And bringing brave lads wid him from abroad,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la.
Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" Who all in France have taken a big sware,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
Dat dey're damned if dey'll have any Protestant heir,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la.
Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" Arrah, Teague! but why does he stay behind?
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la;
Is it Luther keeps him wid his Protestant wind?
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la.
Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" But, see! de Tyrconnell is now on shore,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
And we shall all have commissions galore,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la.
Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" And he dat will not go straight to de mass,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
Won't we turn him out—de heretic ass?
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la.
Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" Dere was an old prophecy found in a bog,
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
Ireland would be ruled by an ass and a dog.
 Lilli burlero, bullin a la.
Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"And now dat prophecy is come to pass,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
For Dick Talbot's de dog, and Shaumass de ass,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la.
Chorus.—Lero, lero, lilli burlero, lero, lero, bullin a la ;
Lero, lero, lilli burlero, lero, lero, bullin a la."

1687.—There was only one Protestant high sheriff in all Ireland this year; and even that was the result of a mistake, Mr. Charles Hamilton having been unintentionally placed on the lists in lieu of Mr. John Hamilton, a Roman Catholic.

The Lord Lieutenant of the County of Cork, this year, was Major-General Justin Mao Carthy (Lord Mountcashel); Nicholas Brown, Esq., of Bantry, high sheriff; Pierce Nagle, Daniel Mac Carthy Reagh, O'Sullivan Bere, and Charles Mac Carthy (*alias* Mac Donogh), deputy lieutenants.

Soon after Tyrconnell's appointment, he visited Cork, where he was sumptuously entertained by Christopher Crofts, the mayor. A great number of complaints went against him to England, insomuch so, that James deemed it advisable to summon him over to meet him at Chester. His departure revived the drooping spirits of the English; but this was not of long continuance, for he soon returned, and resumed his former line of conduct without being in the least disconcerted by his visit to England. The Irish, having everything their own way, took all the power, civil as well as military, into their own hands, and, having secured Ireland, resolved to send assistance to James. Accordingly, Tyrconnell sent over three thousand of his choicest troops. To complete this body, he withdrew the garrison at Londonderry, and neglected to put one in its

place, not dreaming that the men of Londonderry would dare refuse admission to any garrison that he should at any time choose to send.

1688.—Having recruited so as to fill up the vacancies caused by the forces sent to England, he ordered the Earl of Antrim, with his newly raised infantry regiment of twelve hundred men, to take possession of the city. Whilst this body was on its upward march, Colonel Phillips sent one James Boyle to Derry, recommending the inhabitants to shut the gates, and refuse admission. This course they had already resolved upon; and, on the 7th of December, the 'prentice-boys tried their 'prentice-hands on the drawbridge, and the memorable siege of Derry began. The Londonderry people were also urged to this rather dangerous proceeding by a report extensively circulated, and which was universally credited, that the Irish intended a general massacre of the citizens on the 9th of December; but we suspect that the landing of William at Torquay, on the 5th, had more influence on their resolve than either the advice of Phillips, or the fear of any serious danger to apprehend from the soldiers of Antrim.

Although the individuals selected by Tyrconnell to fill the corporate and civic offices were, in general, chosen from a class of men who had little means and less reputation, yet we are glad to find that, so far as Bandon was concerned, those appointed under James's charter were not inferior in social position or substantial wealth to any corporate body that preceded them. The provost (Mr. Teige Mac Carthy*) was a member

* Teige Mac Carthy, of Agliss, was deprived of his estate, valued at three hundred and fifty-seven pounds per annum, for his adherence to King James.

of one of the oldest and most respectable houses in the kingdom. Of the burgesses, one was a colonel of a regiment of militia, which he had himself raised for the service of King James, and subsequently sat in that turbulent Parliament called into being by that monarch, on the 7th of May, in 1689. Another commanded his company of foot in the same cause; and the rest were taken from precisely the same rank in life as those whose duties they were now called upon to perform. Mac Carthy, having arrived at the scene of his future labors, immediately proceeded to business; and having removed Mr. John Nash*—the provost of the Protestant party—he, on the 20th of March, was duly sworn into the provostship. The following were nominated the same day as free burgesses:

Teige Mac Carthy, Provost,
Colonel Charles Mac Carthy,
Captain Arthur Keefe,
Teige Mac Carthy, jun.,
Thomas Knight, merchant,

Joseph Chamberlaine,
Ralph Chartres, apothecary,
Murtoth Downy,
Edward Collyer, merchant,
Daniel Connel, jun.

To these, on the next day, were added four more—Cornelius Connel, James and Edward Rashleigh, clothiers, and John Goold, merchant.† Hugh Donovan was sworn sergeant-at-mace, the securities for the performance of his trusts being Richard Edwards, inn-keeper, and John Murphy. Following the example of their predecessors in office, the new corporation, also, appointed constables to preserve peace within their jurisdiction. On the north side of the town, they had Solomon Pope and Abraham Beere, together with

* Shane Dearg.

† Joseph Chamberlaine, Ralph Chartres, and Edward Rashleigh refused to serve, and fled for safety to England. Mr. Henry Curtin, Mr. William Harding, and Mr. Daniel Doolin were elected in their stead.

Robert Gyles and Thomas Blewit as assistants; and, on the south side, Jeremy Biggs and Attiwell Woods,* with William Walker and John Barther as their assistants.

The new provost, although an ardent admirer of James, yet did not permit the interest he took in that prince's welfare to blind him to his own; for we find that, upon the very day after he took the oaths, he demanded and obtained from the corporation treasurer fifty pounds, being, as he said, the amount expended in procuring the new charter, and ten pounds as compensation for the interest he took in obtaining that boon for the inhabitants.

In two days after (March 23), the following, having taken the oath of allegiance to James II., were admitted to the freedom of the town:

William Abbott,
John Barther,
Matthew Balten,
Thomas Biss,
Samuel Browne,
William Barrett, shoemaker,
John Connel, carpenter,
John Corker, cooper,
James Cullinane, mason,
Robert Cooke,
Thomas Denison,
Isaac Draper, clothier,
John Davis, sen.,
John Davis, jun.,
Richard Edwards, innkeeper,
Josias Edwards, carpenter,
Robert Garret,
Daniel Galvin, tailor,
John Husband,
David Humphries,
John Harris,
Thomas Joyce,

William Humphries, button-maker,
Aaron Langton,
William Litton,
Walter Martin,
Denis Murphy,
John Hungerford, tiler,
John Mahoney,
Hugh Malone,
Thomas Polden,
Robert Roe,
Darby Reagan,
William Richardson,
David Sullivan,
Robert Splaine,
Thomas Sabery,
Timothy Sullivan,
William Scannell, mason,
Attiwell Woods,
William Wright,
Darby Wholehane, carpenter.

* Attiwell Woods would not serve.

From these names it will be seen that, out of the entire population, only forty-two could be prevailed upon to recognize James as their king; and, even of this number, some were evidently new arrivals—as Murphy, Mahoney, Wholehane, &c. Now, when we consider, that, at the very time we write of, all the civil and military power of the kingdom were in the possession of those from whom the Bandonians could expect no favor, and who could at any moment have seized their goods and incarcerated themselves without their motives being challenged or their authority disputed, we are amazed to find how any people, helpless as they were, would have dared to resist the supreme authority of those in whose hands were their very lives. Probably they had convinced themselves that the success of James and his allies was but a temporary one, and that it must fly before the advance of a Protestant army and a Protestant king; or it may be that they despised that prince and the cause with which he was identified so utterly as to prefer the alternative of ruin, beggary, or even a violent death to any acknowledgment of him, however slender, superficial, or insincere. The authorities were well aware of this feeling, and of its intensity; and, on the 1st of June, they published the following proclamation:

“Whereas several summonses have of late been given to the inhabitants of this corporation to appear, and take the oath accustomed for freemen, and forasmuch as they refuse and condemn the said summonses, now we, the said provost and majority of the burgesses, having taken into consideration the wrong and injury that happen unto the corporation thereby, do and, by our mutual assents and consents, have ordered, that every person of what trade soever shall pay six shillings and eightpence sterling per diem for using every such trade or occupation, either private or public, after the fifteenth day of

June next, after the date hereof; and the same to be levied on their goods and chattels, and to be disposed of according to law, or their bodies to be imprisoned, through the choice lying in the provost."

Another proclamation, more peremptory still, was issued in three weeks afterwards, directed against those "who do stand out, and refuse to take the oath." But this was also unheeded; and all that the summonses and proclamations could wring out of the reluctant townspeople was the addition of six names to those previously mentioned—as Robert Langley, Thomas Browne, John Long, Jeremy Biggs, Thomas Williams, and Richard Clarke.

1689.—In the west of the county, the peasantry began to rob and plunder, not stealthily or covertly, but in an open and defiant manner. When the landlords would demand their rents, the tenants would coolly tell them they had none to give, as they had spent their last farthing in arming themselves and their sons for the service of King James. At other times, they used to invite them to drink damnation and confusion to all heretics, especially the Prince and Princess of Orange; but they did not even confine themselves to those civilities. They indulged in abuse unmeasured. Their favorite appellation for a Protestant was, "You dog!" but, if they wished to condense all their vengeful feelings into one phrase, they would hiss from between their teeth, "You Whig!" Of threats they were not sparing either. "We'll make you as poor devils as when you first came to Ireland," was in the mouth of every follower of James, who, from recklessness or misfortune, was in the very condition himself to which he was anxious to reduce his more fortunate neighbors.

But many of them went farther still, and openly asserted, that, until they had starved one-half of the English and hanged the other, matters would never be well done. The Protestant people—many of whom were then alive that could well remember 1641, and that the great rebellion began in a similar manner—flying from their fields and homesteads in thousands, flocked into the neighboring walled-in towns for protection.

Bandon was, at this time, garrisoned by one troop of horse and two companies of foot, all under the command of Captain Daniel O'Neil, who held possession of the town for King James. On Saturday, the 16th of February, Captain O'Neil issued a proclamation, which was read at the market-house in the South Main Street, and at the one adjoining North Gate at Kilbrogan, calling on the inhabitants to deliver up all their arms and ammunition within three days. At the expiration of the allotted time, finding that his orders were but very partially obeyed, he communicated with Lord Clancarthy,* who readily promised to assist him, stating

* Donogh Mac Carthy, fourth Earl of Clancarthy, was only son of Callaghan by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Kildare, and was grandson of Donogh, Lord Muskerry, first Earl of Clancarthy, whom we have seen taking such an active part in the events of the great rebellion. He was married, when not quite sixteen, to the Lady Elizabeth Spencer—a child of not more than eleven years old—daughter of the Earl of Sunderland, then Secretary of State to Charles II. Shortly after his marriage, he removed to Ireland, and lived principally at Macroom Castle, where he continued to profess the Protestant religion—in the doctrine of which he had been carefully brought up at Oxford, under the tutelage of the Archbishop of Canterbury—until James II. landed at Kinsale. When Cork was obliged to submit to the victorious Marlborough, Clancarthy was taken prisoner, and, on being sent to England, was imprisoned in the Tower. After being detained there for three years, he escaped to St. Germain, where he was graciously received, and entrusted with the command of a corps of Irish refugees. His estates, which amounted to ten thousand a year, were forfeited, subject, however, to two annuities—one to his wife, and one to his brothers. Of these the greater portion were bestowed by William upon the Duke of Portland's eldest son—Lord Woodstock. Great efforts

that he would be with him from Cork about noon on the following Monday (February 25), bringing with him six companies of foot. The Bandon people having timely notice of this, and being, moreover, encouraged by the proclamation announcing that the Prince of Orange had ascended the throne, resolved not only on preventing the entrance of the six companies, but on turning out those they already had within.* They were

were subsequently made by Lord Sunderland, and other influential persons in England, to have this forfeiture reversed—Clancarthy being represented to the king as a faultless person; and they probably would have succeeded had not the Grand Jury of the County of Cork—instigated by Sir Richard Cox, then a justice of the common pleas—forwarded to the court a strong memorial against any clemency being shown to him, on the grounds, amongst other matters, “of his practices against the Protestants, his inveterate hatred to the English interest, and the little probability of ever seeing an English plantation in those parts if he was restored.” This presentment, backed up as it was by the zealous support of Lord Sydney and the Earl of Burlington, had the desired effect. He was ordered out of the kingdom, but had a pension of three hundred pounds per annum granted to him on the condition that he should never take up arms against the Protestant succession. He went to reside at Hamburg, where he purchased a little island, in which he died in 1734, leaving two sons—Robert and Justin. Upon his death, his eldest son, Robert, became fifth Earl of Clancarthy. He petitioned George II. to restore him to his estates, at that time worth one hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum; and the king was so far favorable to his suit as to send letters of recommendation to that effect to the lord lieutenant. But the new owners speedily took the alarm, and memorialized the English Parliament against the project. The end of the matter was a compromise. Clancarthy got a sum of money in hand, and was promoted to the command of his majesty’s ship of war, the “Adventure.” Being suspected of a leaning towards the Stuarts, he vacated his command, and joined the French. Louis XV. entertained him handsomely. He gave him apartments in his own palace, rank in the army, and conferred upon him a pension of one thousand a year. Nevertheless, his love for England was so great, that he removed to Boulogne-sur-Mer, as he used to say, “in order that he might live and die in sight of his native country.” He died in 1770, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, leaving two sons (both officers in the French service) nothing but his name. They died, as is believed, issueless.

* We think the Bandon people showed more prudence in their resolve than their brethren of Derry. The latter rose on William’s landing; but the Bandonians first waited to see how he would be received, and, finding he was proclaimed king, they seized on the first opportunity to declare in his favor.

also stimulated to this resolve by a report which probably had more weight with them than even the disarming itself, which was, that O'Neil had declared that the Sunday after Clancarthy's arrival should witness the celebration of mass in the parish church of Kilbrogan.

At the period of which we write, a portion of the space now occupied by the present main entrance to Kilbrogan Church was the site of an old two-storied house, whose big bay windows, high pointed gables, and conical roof formed an appropriate residence for its well known inhabitant. The tenant-in-chief of this gloomy-looking domicile was an elderly lady called Katty Holt. Tradition represents her as a thin, skinny-looking, wicked old widow, whose tongue never stopped unless she was asleep, and even then only by conjecture. Katty was exceedingly addicted to gossip; and, in order to gratify that propensity, she used to admit her neighbors to pass through her house as a direct path to the church.* This being found very convenient, many availed themselves of her kindness, and afforded Katty unlimited opportunities for gossip. In course of time, the passage became such a regular thoroughfare on Sundays, that numbers were able to go in and out without attracting more than ordinary notice. The leaders of the movement took advantage of this; and, on the return of the congregation from noonday service on the following Sunday, they privately went up stairs. Being all assembled, their first act was to appoint the Presbyterian minister (old Hardinge) chairman; after which, they unanimously agreed on

* Our local readers are aware this was a great favor to the people in the neighborhood, as, otherwise, they should pass through the North-Church Lane—the sole entrance, at that time, to Kilbrogan Church.

disarming the garrison, the next morning, at cock-crow. Arrangements were then made for perfecting the design. Those present undertook to induce all on whom they could rely to join them. They were to report progress at stated intervals up to ten o'clock that night, by which hour it was hoped every detail would be satisfactorily arranged; and finally they separated, after entrusting to the church-bell of Kilbrogan the ominous duty of announcing, on the coming morn, that the very eventful moment had at length arrived. They all slipped away as quietly as they had entered. One or two went out by the front-door; but the greater portion got into the little gardens abutting on the churchyard, and thence into the houses of those neighbors on whose fidelity they could rely. These, in their turn, also, became emissaries; and, in a few hours, all the male inhabitants were enrolled; the Rev. George Synge, of Kilbrogan, "Ould Andy Sims," of Ballymoodan, and the few of those that preached and practised the doctrine of non-resistance, alone standing aloof. The Presbyterians, and even the peace-loving Quakers,* joined in the movement to a man.

It may seem odd that the only one of the fair sex entrusted with the secret was Katty; but this is accounted for by the simple reason that it could not be well helped. However, the conspirators made a great parade of their confidence in Katty, pretending to consult her upon what they had resolved upon, and deliberating as to what they should do. All went on smoothly enough, until some one asked her what they

* One of these was afterwards arraigned before some of the society in Cork, and asked how he, a Quaker, could join in such an enterprise. "I know I am a Quaker," quoth the follower of George Fox; "but I also know I'm a Bandonian."

should do with the prisoners. "Prisoners!" screamed she, stamping her wicked foot upon the ground, and looking forked lightning. "Oh! bring them to me—the popish varlets!—and see if I don't scratch their eyes out!"

After spending many anxious hours, the Bandon men dispersed to their homes, where some quietly retired to bed; whilst others anxiously continued awaiting the first cold pale streak of the coming day—a day which would probably see them revelling in all the joys of recently acquired freedom, or, perhaps, throw its long, silent shadows on their newly made graves.

The day broke; the cock crew: but the church-bell did not ring. This was owing to a desperate encounter taking place between Jack Sullivan, the sexton, and his wife Nancy. Jack thought within himself: "It is a nasty job. If they gained the victory, 'twould be all well enough; but, if they didn't"— Here he pulled up the waistband of his sheepskin breeches, scratched his head, and, after some moments' meditation, was more than half disposed to return home. Nancy arrived at this juncture. Having missed Jack from her side, she thought there must be something more than usually important when he would slip away without acquainting her. In a few words, he told her all. She warmly approved of the design, and urged him to do his duty; but Jack refused. "Then I'll do it myself," she cried, rushing forward; but he prevented her. And now a regular pitched battle ensued between them, both sides fighting desperately; but Jack was no match for Nancy. She proved to be the queen of trumps, and, descending upon the knave of spades, dealt him such a woful bad hand as made it a losing game for him to continue

opposed to her any longer; and, following up her lead, she beat him to the ground. Then, bounding over his prostrate body, she rang the bell, at the same time crying out, "O Lord! spare not the Philistines!"*

The bell tolled forth a loud, encouraging sound. The Bandon men rushed out, and the garrison was disarmed.† All the horses, accoutrements, arms, and ammunition were taken, but, we regret to say, with loss of life. It was not the intention of the Bandon people to shed any blood on this occasion; but, owing to the darkness of the morning and the confusion caused by the sudden rush, eight of the soldiers, who had seized their arms and continued to make resistance, were unfortunately killed. Three of these—namely, Sergeant John Barry and two privates of the troop of horse—being Protestants, were buried in Kilbrogan. The other five were buried in the graveyard attached to the Roman-Catholic chapel in the same parish. The disarmed men were afterwards conducted outside North Gate, from whence they all proceeded to Cork. It was owing to these events having taken place on a dark Monday morning that the inhabitants of Bandon have been called "Black Mondays;" and the neighboring peasantry still stoutly affirm, that, ever since, a black cloud hangs over Bandon. The town is called "Southern Derry," from the people of Bandon having risen in the south, as the people of Derry some weeks previously had done in the north.

* Many of the particulars connected with "ringing the bell" have been derived from a young man in whose family the account has been religiously preserved, and who thinks it of no small moment to be lineally descended from one that took such an active part in the Black Monday insurrection.

† O'Neil's troops had free quarters upon the inhabitants.

CHAPTER XVI.

BANDON BESIEGED BY TWELVE THOUSAND MEN—NO SURRENDER—THE TOWN AND INHABITANTS ABOUT BEING DESTROYED BY FIRE—A FRIEND IN NEED—THE TERMS OF PEACE—TYRCONNELL IS INDIGNANT—JAMES II. LANDS IN KINSALE—HE PROCEEDS TO DUBLIN—THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BANDON IN JAMES'S PARLIAMENT—PROTESTANT BISHOPS IN HIS HOUSE OF PEERS—NAMES OF SEVERAL THAT FLED FROM THIS LOCALITY ON HIS ARRIVAL—BRASS MONEY—THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN-BUTLER—SCHOMBERG LANDS—HUNDREDS OF THE PROTESTANT CLERGY REFUSE TO TAKE THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO WILLIAM—A COMMISSION APPOINTED TO EXAMINE THE LITURGY—THE ATHANASIAN CREED CAUSES MUCH PERPLEXITY.

THE "Black Mondays" did not long enjoy the fruit of their victory; for, shortly after, Major-General Justin Mac Carthy*—an officer who had served many years with distinction in the French army—together with the Earl of Clancarthy and twelve thousand men,† marched

* Major-General Justin Mac Carthy (Saorbhreathach), afterwards Lord Mountcashel, was the youngest son of the celebrated Donogh, Lord Muskerry, first Earl of Clancarthy. He was severely wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Newtown-Butler by the Enniskilliners. Having made his escape, he went to France, where he commanded the six Irish battalions, called after him the Mountcashel Brigade, which were sent to replace the seven battalions of French that arrived here under Count Lauzun. The Mountcashel Brigade was composed of three regiments—the Mountcashel, the O'Brien, and Dillon's—each of which consisted of two battalions, containing sixteen companies of one hundred men each. Upon their landing at Brest, they were sent into Savoy, where they distinguished themselves under Marshal de Catinat. They also obtained particular notice at the battle fought at Marseilles, 1693. Mountcashel did not long survive his arrival in France, having died (within twelve months from his landing), at Barege, from the effects of a wound received in the chest whilst valiantly fighting with his brigade in Savoy. Upon his death, his regiment was conferred on De Lee; and it was subsequently known as Bulkeley's Regiment.

† Amongst them were the four regiments of Clancarthy, O'Brien, Dillon, and Owen Mac Carthy.

against them from Cork. The Bandonians could make no resistance. They had no arms, save the few muskets and swords taken from the men under O'Neil's command, and the six old rusty pieces of ordnance that were sent them nearly fifty years before by the Earl of Cork, which, if coaxed to go off at all, were more likely to prove dangerous to themselves than to their enemies. They had no hopes of assistance from any of the towns in the neighborhood, as their inhabitants had been long since disarmed. Under these circumstances, they were almost at the mercy of the besiegers. Mac Carthy surrounded the town, and peremptorily demanded that the leaders of the late revolt should be given up to him. The besieged replied that they had no objection to treat about delivering the town into his hands upon honorable terms; but, as for giving up their leaders, their answer was, "No surrender."* This spirited reply, however, availed them nothing; for Mac Carthy, having taken the town, was about to lead forth ten of the principal men to execution, after which he intended destroying not only the town, but also the inhabitants, with fire—all of which he would most assuredly have done were it not for the interposition of their fellow-citizen, Dr. Brady, who, being a recognized follower of King James and an ardent admirer of the theories then in vogue with the Jacobites, had great influence with that party, by means of which he was enabled to induce Mac Carthy to come to terms, which were of so mild a nature, that we really think Dr. Brady must have had the dictation of them himself,

* "*No code*" has since been added to the town arms. It is supposed to be engraved on a stone over the centre arch of the bridge, looking east.

as the townsmen were only asked to pay fifteen hundred pounds; the conditions annexed being, that it should be cash down, and also to reimburse the officers, troopers, and soldiers for the losses and damages they sustained during the disarmament. Not a word about hostages, or the demolition of the walls, as mentioned by Smith. The greater portion of the money was borrowed from some of their Protestant friends in Cork—amongst whom was Mr. William Chartres, an alderman of that city—and some from their fellow-townsmen, Mr. Cornelius Conner. To secure the repayment of this sum, and whatever interest might from time to time accrue, the following, with others, passed their bonds, and became personally liable for the entire amount: namely, James Dixon, John Nash, Saul Bruce, Thomas Forster, and Robert White. The articles of peace were signed, on the 2nd of March, between Major-General Justin Mac Carthy, on behalf of His Most Gracious Majesty King James, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and James Dixon, John Nash, Saul Bruce, and Thomas Forster, on behalf of the inhabitants of Bandon-bridge.

When Tyrconnell heard the arrangement that had been come to, he wrote to Mac Carthy on the 10th of March, stating, "That he was sorry a treaty had been entered into with the people of Bandon, until the authors of the disturbance were brought to justice." And in allusion, probably, to the unwillingness of the Protestant soldiery to do anything injurious to the Bandonians, he adds, "The army we shall new-model when the king arrives; and, till that be done, it is impossible to make them *useful*."

When Chief Justice Nugent,* who presided at the Cork spring assizes this year, became aware of the articles entered into with the Bandonians, he cancelled them at the instigation of no less a personage than King James himself, who, arriving from Kinsale during the sitting of the court, and being made aware of all the circumstances connected with the revolt, became so exasperated with those who dared to raise the first standard of defiance in the south—and that, too, at a distance of only nine miles from the very seaport-town where he was daily expected with a French fleet, and an army second in equipment and discipline to none in Europe—that he ordered indictments for high treason to be prepared against them on the spot. The grand jury, constituted as it was of men to whom the very name of Bandon was odious, could not be expected to show them either justice or mercy. Accordingly, true bills were found; and the Bandon men would soon be arraigned for the highest offence known to the law, and soon after, on the scaffold, have to undergo death with all the dire concomitants of a conviction for treason, were it not for the urgent intercessions of the same Dr. Brady who, not more than a fortnight before, had used his good offices with General Mac Carthy on their behalf, and who was now called upon again to go over the same ground with James. But the man he had

* Chief Justice Nugent, Baron of Riverstown, was the son of the Earl of Westmeath, who was deprived of his titles and estates for the active part he took in the great rebellion. His appointment to the chief justiceship was for him a most felicitous one, as he was enabled to decide whether the attainures and forfeitures which left himself and his friends outlaws and beggars should be reversed or not. Previous to Tyreconnell's arrival, he was a man of no repute, and was only known amongst his brethren at the bar by the more than ordinary brogue upon his tongue, and his utter ignorance of the law.

to contend with this time was the very reverse of the former. Mac Carthy was a man of good sense and a soldier; James was a religious bigot and a poltroon. Over and over again the humane divine reminded his king, that the act of his general was the act of himself; but he could be scarcely prevailed upon to listen to him, and all Dr. Brady gained by his mediation was the delay of a few days. The royal mind was as unshaken as ever; and, when the merciless monarch did set out for Dublin, he left peremptory instructions behind him to have the Bandon rebels severely dealt with. Nugent, only too glad to carry out the views of his majesty in these particulars, ordered them upon their trial at once. There they stood unflinching and undismayed, although there was not one gleam of hope to soften the gloom of that destiny which now appeared inevitable. Before them sat the Irish Jeffreys, and beside him was the gibbet. But the darkest hour is always that which precedes the dawn. Mac Carthy, who had signed the terms of capitulation on James's behalf, and who felt himself bound in honor to maintain his promises with the Bandon people, could not look on himself in any other light than that of an accessory to their murder if he did not energetically interfere. Accordingly, he urged the chief justice to abide by the peace he had made; but, finding importunities of no avail with that worthy, he walked in contumaciously upon the bench, and dared him.* Thus menaced and overawed, Nugent, "who had resolved on serving them as he served Mr. Brown," gave way. The trial was postponed until the

* This was not the first time General Mac Carthy bullied the bench. On another occasion, he is said to have threatened the judge (Sir John Mead) because he refused to direct the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty against certain prisoners then before him.

following year, when it was again heard, but before a tribunal where opposing counsel were represented by contending armies, where the leaders on both sides were kings, and where the point at issue was the welfare of nations. This court sat upon the never-to-be-forgotten banks of the Boyne.

The names of those old Bandon heroes, over whose devoted heads the sword of Damocles hung so long, were subsequently inserted in the Act of Attainder, and are as follow :

Arthur Bernard, Castle Mahon, Bandon.

Ralph Chartres, Bandon.

Ralph Clear, do.

John Sullivan, do.

Thomas Dennis, do.

Robert Gookin, Kilcoleman, Bandon.

Henry Jones, Bandon.

Thomas Ware, Nucestown, do.

Philip White, Brinny, do.

William Ware, Nucestown, do.

Sampson Twogood, Bandon.

Samuel Sweete, do.

We mentioned that Chief Justice Nugent had resolved on serving the Bandon men as he had served Mr. Brown; and, surely, had he done so, the Bandonians would have had good reason to complain of his cruelty and atrocity, as well as that of his royal master. Mr. Brown's case was a melancholy one. It appears that, some short time before James's arrival, Nugent had pronounced it treason for any Protestant to keep arms, or even to wear a sword, after the king's proclamation. Many did so, notwithstanding, as they had no other means of protecting themselves and their properties from the continued attacks of the Rapparees, and other lawless bodies which, at that time, roamed about the

country unmolested. Mr. Brown (a gentleman of the county of Cork) was one of those that retained their weapons, and, being seen in company with some men who were armed, was pursued. Brown fled to his own house, where he was soon made a prisoner, and brought before Judge Daly* at Limerick. Upon examining into the affair, Daly, who saw nothing unconstitutional in a man's being prepared to defend himself when attacked, dismissed him, judging him innocent of any crime that could support an indictment. He was again arrested and tried for the same offence, before the chief justice, at the Cork assizes. At first, this functionary was disposed to take the same view of the matter as Daly, although it was he himself who had pronounced the retaining of arms to amount to treason; but he probably thought, that, where it was proved the arms were held only for defensive purposes, the keeping of them would not amount to a capital offence. Be that as it may, after a consultation with King James, who was then in Cork, he proceeded vigorously against the unfortunate accused, and, by means of a packed jury, procured him to be found guilty. Everybody thought that James's only object was to have an opportunity of showing his clemency, and that he wished to inaugurate his arrival in Ireland with an act of grace—a harbinger of the mild and conciliatory policy he intended to pursue here; but it was far otherwise. Notwithstanding that the miserable man's wife and his six little children threw themselves at his feet, and implored him to exercise his royal prerogative of mercy in their favor, he rejected them. Maddened at the thought of losing her

* Denis Daly, second justice of the common pleas, was considered a sound lawyer and an impartial judge.

husband, the unhappy woman went amongst her friends, and, collecting all the interest she could bring together, again flung herself at James's feet, and besought his pardon; but this effort was more than unavailing, for, adding insult to injustice, he spurned her. The unfortunate man was first half hanged, then his bowels were torn out, and his body cut into quarters. This one act of atrocity and bad policy firmed all the sound-thinking Protestants of Ireland against him as one man. They could never after have any confidence in him; and, wherever the news was received, the people were impressed with the conviction that James was as bigoted as brutal, and as bloodthirsty as ever.

James II. sailed from Brest on board the "St. Michael," and landed at Kinsale on the evening of Wednesday, March 12. It is said that Tyrconnell was opposed to James's coming to Ireland, and even sent over Lord Mountjoy and Chief Baron Rice to persuade him against it; but he did not anticipate any success, as he well knew the court of France would oppose his wishes with all their power; for, said he, "That court minds nothing but its own interest, and they would not care if Ireland were sunk in the pit of hell, so they could but give the Prince of Orange but three months' diversion. But," he continued, "if the king be persuaded to ruin his fastest friends, to do himself no service, only to gratify France, he is neither so merciful nor so wise as I believe him to be. If he recover England, Ireland will fall to him again in course; but he can never expect to conquer England by Ireland. If he attempt it, he ruins himself, to do himself no kindness, but rather to exasperate England the more against him, and make his restoration impossible."

James was rapturously received by the entire of the Roman-Catholic people, and by some of the Protestants that remained in the locality, amongst whom was the Rev. John Tom, Vicar of Kinsale. He was accompanied by ships of war, carrying two thousand two hundred and twenty-three guns and thirteen thousand two hundred and five men. On the 14th, five thousand men more debarked. They were commanded by Count Lauzun and the Marquis de Lacy. In their place, James sent back a similar number of Irish. The same day, he set out for Cork, where, on the next Sunday, he heard mass in a chapel belonging to a monastery on the north side of the city. After remaining some days, he left for Dublin. On his journey, Macaulay tells us, he received numerous marks of the good will of the peasantry, but marks such as, to men bred in France and England, had an uncouth and ominous appearance. Though very few laborers were to be seen at work in the fields, the road was lined by Rapparees armed with skeans, stakes, and half pikes, who crowded to look upon the deliverer of their race. The highway along which he travelled presented the aspect of a street in which a fair is held. Pipers came out to play before him in a style which was not exactly that of the French opera, and the villagers danced wildly to the music. Long frieze mantles, resembling those which Spenser had a century before described as meet beds for rebels and apt cloaks for thieves, were spread along the path which the cavalcade was to tread; and garlands, in which cabbage-stalks supplied the place of laurels, were offered to the royal hand. The women insisted on kissing his majesty; but it would seem that they bore little resemblance to their posterity, for this compliment

was so distasteful to him, that he ordered his retinue to keep them back.

On the 24th of March, he arrived in Dublin, then a city of about thirty thousand inhabitants; and, the very next day, he issued a proclamation summoning a Parliament to meet him in Dublin on the 7th of May. The representatives chosen by the Bandon corporation to sit in this Parliament, "according to his most gracious majesty's writ in that behalf," were Charles Mac Carthy, Esq.,* of Ballea, and Daniel Mac Carthy (Reagh), Esq. The election was held, on the 23rd of April, in the Tholsel, or Court-House, situate on the south side of the town; and the return was endorsed by the signatures of those who were present on the occasion, namely:

Daniel Mac Carthy, Deputy Provost,
Manus Mac Carthy (Reagh),
Charles Mac Carthy,
Dermod Mac Carthy,
Henry Riordan,
Cornelius Conner,
Edward Collyer,

Daniel Conner,
Andrew Callaghane,
John Walshe,
Thomas Knight,
Denis Leary,
William Hore,
Cornelius Pery.

The Parliament met at the King's Inns, and speedily proceeded to business, but in such a tumultuous and disorderly manner, that Judge Daly—himself a Roman Catholic—said that they resembled nothing so much as the mob of fishermen and market-gardeners, who, at Naples, threw up their caps in honor of Massaniello.

* Charles Mac Carthy (a kinsman of Lord Clancarthy) was a colonel of militia in James's army. For his attachment to that prince, his estates, valued at six hundred and thirty-five pounds per annum, were forfeited. He was also one of the burgesses mentioned in the charter conferred on Bandon by James. The corporation elected him provost for the year 1691; and he would, in all probability, have discharged the duties of that office were it not for the success of William in the previous year. He died on the 20th of May, 1704, and was buried in Kilcrea Abbey.

For this he was ordered to the bar of the house; but, just as he was at the door, one of the members rushed in, shouting, "Good news! Londonderry is taken!" The whole house arose; hats were flung into the air; and three loud huzzas given. Every heart was softened by the glad tidings. They could do nothing harsh—at least, that day. The order for Daly's attendance was discharged by acclamation amid loud shouts of "We pardon him!"

During the sitting of the Parliament, several bills were passed, two of which involved very important interests. One of these was for repealing the Act of Settlement, and the other for transferring the greater portion of the tithes from the Protestant to the Roman-Catholic clergy, without making any provision for the dispossessed incumbents.

Of the peers, only fourteen obeyed the summons, amongst whom were the four Protestant Bishops of Meath, Ossory, Limerick, and Cork.* By the reversion of old attainders, however, and new creations, seventeen more were added.

A great many of the Protestant inhabitants had, by this time, left Ireland. They were on the wing ever since Tyrconnell was appointed to the lord lieutenancy; and the conduct pursued by James and his adherents was not of such a nature as to induce them to return. Several of them fled from this locality, amongst whom were the following:

	Annual Income.
Bernard, Francis, sen.†	
Bernard, Francis, jun.	
Beecher, Thomas, wife, seven children . . .	£898

* Edward Wettenhall, appointed to the sees of Cork and Ross in 1678. In 1699, he was translated to Kilmore and Ardagh.

† The incomes of Messrs. Bernard, sen. and jun., are not given.

	Annual Income.
Cox, Richard, wife, six children	£160
Crofts, George, wife, ten children	260
Daunt, Joseph	100
Freke, Percy, wife, one child	520
Gillman, Robert, wife, six children	120
Gash, Joseph	140
Gookin, Mary, spinster	100
* Gookin, Robert, wife, one child	300
Gookin, Vincent, wife	500
Hewitt, Thomas	140
Heyrick, Gersham	250
Honner, Joseph, wife	147
Jervis, Samuel	120
Lucas, Nathaniel	126
Moore, Sir Samuel, wife, two children	650
Riggs, Edward, wife, five children	800
Synge, Rev. George, wife	100
Stawell, Jonas, wife, two children	600
Travers, Robert	140
Wade, Richard	100
Warner, Thomas	150

In such a state of things, it is not surprising that trade should have become stagnant, and capital withdrawn from the country. The treasury, of course, soon became exhausted, and the want of money was severely felt. In order to extricate himself from these financial difficulties, James had to resort to coining; and, in his view, the right of coining included the right of debasing the coin. Pots, pans, knockers of doors, and pieces of ordnance which had long been past use, were carried to the mint; and, in a short time, lumps of brass metal—nominally worth near a million and a half sterling,* intrinsically worth about a sixtieth part

* The amount issued nominally was £1,396,799. After the battle of the Boyne, Lord Coningsby found £22,489 in the mint, which he valued at £641 19s. 5d. It is stated that four pennyworth of brass metal was made pass current for five pounds sterling; and, as if even this was not enough, the half crowns were subsequently transformed into five-shilling pieces, and the shillings reduced to half their former

of that sum—were in circulation. A royal edict declared them to be legal tender in all cases whatever. A mortgage for a thousand pounds was cleared off by a bag of counters made of old kettles. Any one belonging to the caste now dominant might walk into a shop, and, laying on the counter a bit of brass worth threepence, carry off goods to the value of half a guinea. Legal redress was out of the question. Some persons who dared to refuse the base money were arrested, and carried before the provost-marshal, who cursed them, swore at them, locked them up in dark cells, and, by threatening to hang them at their own doors, soon overcame their resistance.*

On the 1st of August, the siege of Londonderry was raised. It lasted one hundred and five days. The greatest historian of our day calls it a contest, not between engineers, but between nations; and the victory remained with the nation which, though inferior in number, was superior in civilization, in capacity for self-government, and in stubbornness of resolution.

The battle of Newtown-Butler was fought on the 31st of July. The Enniskilleners were commanded by Wolseley, and the Irish by Major-General Justin Mac Carthy—the very man that besieged and captured Bandon. He was now Viscount Mountcashel, a title which James conferred upon him for his services in Munster. The Enniskilleners did not muster three thousand men, and had only one day's provisions with

size. Any one refusing to take these, at the value set upon them by James, ran every chance of being hanged forthwith. After the accession of William, this coinage was reduced to its proper value by a proclamation announcing that thenceforth the five-shilling pieces should pass for *one penny*, the half crown for three farthings, and the shilling and sixpence for one farthing each.

* *Vide Macaulay.*

them. Mountcashel, on the other hand, had five thousand men and several pieces of artillery. After Wolseley had decided on attacking, he gave the word, "No popery!" and instantly commenced his attack. As he approached, the enemy began to retire, and kept retreating until they reached a very advantageous position about a mile from the town. Here they drew up on a hill, at the foot of which lay a deep bog, through which ran a narrow paved causeway, having on either side turf-pits, pools, and quagmires. Mac Carthy had his cannon placed in such a position as to sweep the causeway. The infantry, nothing daunted by these obstacles, struggled through the bog, made their way to the firm ground, and rushed on the guns. There was a short and desperate fight. The Irish cannoneers stood bravely to their pieces, till they were cut down to a man. The horse, no longer checked by the fire of the artillery, rushed first up the causeway. The Irish dragoons, who had run away in the morning, were again panic-stricken, and galloped off without striking a blow. The rest of the horse followed their example; and such was the terror of the fugitives, that many of them spurred hard till the animals fell from pure exhaustion; after which, they continued to fly on foot, throwing away carbines, swords, and even portions of their clothing, as incumbrances. The foot, seeing themselves deserted, flung down their pikes and muskets, and ran for their lives. The butchery was terrible. Near fifteen hundred of the vanquished were put to the sword.

Mac Carthy, abandoned by his troops, rushed into the midst of his pursuers, and very nearly found the death which he sought. He was wounded in several

places. He was struck to the ground; and, in another moment, his brains would have been knocked out with the but end of a musket, when, by some lucky accident, he was recognized and saved.

The colonists lost only twenty men killed, and fifty wounded. They took four hundred prisoners, seven pieces of cannon, fourteen barrels of powder, all the drums, and all the colors, of the vanquished enemy.*

Schomberg landed at Antrim, on the 20th of August, with ten thousand men. "After taking Carrickfergus, he marched to Lisburn, and through towns left without an inhabitant, and over plains on which not a cow, nor a sheep, nor a stack of corn was to be seen. Those who wandered from the camp reported that the country, as far as they could explore it, was a wilderness. There were cabins, but no inmates; there were rich pastures, but neither flock nor herd; there were cornfields, but the harvest lay on the ground soaked with rain."† After losing six thousand of his men by sickness, Schomberg retired into Ulster, where he dispersed the remainder of his army into winter quarters.

Meanwhile, there was no small commotion in England, owing to numbers of the Protestant clergy refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William. They amounted to near four hundred. "Foremost amongst them stood the primate and six bishops—viz., Turner, of Ely; Lloyd, of Norwich; Frampton, of Gloucester; Luke, of Chichester; White, of Peterborough; and Ken, of Bath. A great number, however, who did take the oath, and swore to obey him as their lawful sovereign, did it so much against their will, that some used to read the prayers for William in a peculiar tone, which

* See Macaulay.

† *Ibid.*

could not be misunderstood. Others were guilty of still grosser indecency. There was one wretch, who, after praying for William and Mary in the most solemn office of religion, drunk off a glass of wine to their damnation. Another, after performing divine service on a fast-day appointed by their authority, dined on a pigeon pie, and, while he cut it up, uttered a wish that it was the usurper's heart.

“In the beginning of October, the commissioners appointed for examining the Liturgy, and the jurisprudence administered by the Christian courts, sat. The Athanasian Creed caused much perplexity. Most of the commissioners were equally unwilling to give up the doctrinal, and retain the damnatory. Burnet, Fowler, and Tillotson were desirous to strike this famous symbol out of the Liturgy altogether. Burnet brought forward an argument which to himself, probably, did not appear to have much weight, but which was admirably calculated to perplex his opponents—Beveridge and Scott: The Council of Ephesus had always been revered by Anglican divines as a synod which had truly represented the whole body of the faithful, and which had been divinely guided in the way of truth. The voice of that council was the voice of the holy, catholic, and apostolic church, not yet corrupted by superstition, or rent asunder by schism. During more than twelve centuries, the world had not seen an ecclesiastical assembly which had an equal claim to the respect of believers. The Council of Ephesus had, in the plainest terms, and under the most terrible penalties, forbidden Christians to frame, or to impose on their brethren, any creed other than the creed settled by the Nicene fathers. It should seem, therefore, that, if

the Council of Ephesus was really under the direction of the Holy Spirit, whoever uses the Athanasian Creed must, in the very act of uttering an anathema against his neighbors, bring down an anathema on his own head. The high clerical party were loud in their complaints against this commission; and they even went so far as to say the king was not sound.”*

William's distaste for high-church practices was so great, that he could not be prevailed upon even to conceal his contempt; whilst his profanity was such, that he was known to sneer at the practice of touching for the king's evil. He used to call it a silly superstition. Hearing, one day, that a crowd of sick was outside the palace, waiting to be healed, he desired the messenger to give the poor people some money, and send them away. On one occasion, he was importuned into laying his hand on a patient. “God give you better health,” said he, “and more sense.”†

The rest of this year was spent in making preparations for William's Irish campaign the following spring.

* Macaulay.

† *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XVII.

THE BANDONIANS SURPRISED—AN IRRUPTION OF WILD IRISH KERN—
SELF-POSSESSION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CLERGYMEN—THE THREE
PIPERS IN KILBROGAN CHURCH—THE ATTACK ON CASTLE MAHON—
THE BANDONIANS LED INTO CAPTIVITY—MAC CARTHY'S GARRISON
EVACUATE THE TOWN—THE BANDON VOLUNTEERS MARCH NORTH-
WARDS TO MEET KING WILLIAM—THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

ON a bright sunny morning in April, 1690, there occurred the darkest disaster that as yet befell the citizens of the ancient and loyal borough. Ever since the capitulation of the town, just thirteen months before, the people of Bandon led a very peaceful life. Knowing that they were helplessly at the mercy of their hereditary foes, they did nothing that could afford a pretext for violence, or an excuse for extortion; whilst so thoroughly were they stripped of all their weapons by General Mac Carthy, that not a single musket, or even a charge of gunpowder, was to be procured in the whole town.

On Sunday mornings, it was usual to throw open the gates, in order to admit the numerous Protestant colonists to attend divine worship. The gate at the northern side, called North Gate, invited the stubborn Presbyterians, who had settled along the upper banks of the river, to enter its friendly portals on their way to the plain, unpretending meeting-house, which at that

time occupied the site of the present Court-House. The other gates were equally accommodating to the outsiders. West Gate led to Ballymoodan Church; whilst East Gate, at the other end of the town, conducted the settlers on the Innoshannon side to the studiously unassuming place of worship belonging to the Society of Friends.

It was a calm, clear day. The last peal of the church-going bell of Kilbrogan had settled into a prolonged, booming sound, and even that was slowly softening into silence. The grave-looking sextoness of the Presbyterian Chapel, with her clean and tidy apron on, and her plain, unpretending cap, had put her head outside the door of the kirk for the last time to see if, perchance, some undecided straggler or some overworked neighbor's wife had thought it not yet too late to join in the sacred services of the Sabbath morn. She could see no one. The streets that lay before her were empty. There was not a voice, or even a footfall, to ruffle the solemn stillness of the scene. Above her was the blue sky—the first, perhaps, that she had seen since the summer of the preceding year; and around her danced the golden sunbeams, all joyous and fresh from their long winter prison. She softly closed the door, and thought, as she did so, that surely this was indeed God's holy day.

The Rev. Mr. Hardinge occupied his own pulpit on that Sunday morning, and, with the foresight almost of a seer, had selected as his text, "Let not your hearts be troubled: ye believe in God; believe also in Me." He had not been preaching for more than ten minutes, when the sextoness, who fancied more than once that she had heard a subdued noise resembling the shuffling

of feet, quickly left her seat to see if there was anything amiss. Scarcely had she opened the door, when back she bounded with a shriek, followed by a horde of savage-looking men, whose wild gesticulations and ferocious yells contrasted strangely with the staid and reverential deportment of those amongst whom they had thus suddenly come. Pouring in with their pikes waving above their heads, their long knives unsheathed, and ready for any atrocity, resistance was out of the question. What could the people, thus surprised, do? If any one of them dared to look even angry, in an instant a dozen skeans were at his throat; whilst others, not so accessible, felt that their lives hung upon the caprice of those whose levelled muskets were pointed at their heads. Having secured all the outlets, and rendered escape impossible, Mac Carthy,* who commanded them, ordered his men to keep silence; then, taking his seat as one of the congregation, he crossed his legs, and apparently paid strict attention to Mr. Hardinge's discourse. Nevertheless, the old minister—faithful to the trusts committed to him, and nothing daunted by the presence of one who held a colonel's commission under King James, and who had under his orders, in that very place, those who would not have paused to enter his pulpit and imbrue their hands in his blood—proclaimed the divine precepts as heretofore, and pounded and expounded the various heads under which he had classed his subject, with just the same earnestness for the spiritual welfare of his hearers, as he had done for the forty years preceding. After remaining about a quarter of an hour, Mac Carthy stood up,

* Colonel Charles Mac Carthy, senior representative for Bandon in King James's Parliament.

and directed his followers to turn out, save those that were necessary for keeping the congregation in safe custody.*

Colonel Mac Carthy's design of surprising Bandon was well matured, and, if possible, better executed. Being an inhabitant of the town for no small portion of the two previous years, he was aware of the gates being left open on Sunday mornings, and of the strong prejudices entertained by the inhabitants of doing anything even in their own defence on the Lord's day. He took advantage of this; and waiting till the church-bells had stopped ringing—by which time, his soldiers, who had marched in with him before daybreak, and concealed themselves in the bogs of Callatrim, were rested and refreshed—he stole up with them to North Gate; and, parties having been previously told off for certain posts, all they had to do was to march in, and take possession. A strong force occupied both churches; that in Kilbrogan was accompanied by three Irish pipers.† One of these impiously sat upon the communion-table, where he struck up, "The King shall enjoy His Own again," in triumphant style, beating a tattoo, by way of accompaniment, upon the leaf of the table, with his long hairy legs, and with just as much composure as if he were seated upon the edge of his native bog-hole, or playing a tune for the boys at the wake of some mutual friend. Another fellow squatted on the circular

* There was a little girl named Mary Morris present on this eventful morning; and such was the impression made upon her youthful mind by all she witnessed, that she was enabled to state the most minute particulars in seventy years afterwards.

† One of the pipers was subsequently arrested, and brought before Shane Dearg; but, before the non-commissioned officer, in whose custody he was, had time to even half narrate the details connected with his arrest, the unfortunate man was on his way to the gallows.

bench in front of the communion-rail, having his dilapidated hat jauntily set on the side of his head; and, with humor twinkling wickedly in both his eyes, he bellowed away at "Lilli Burlero" and "The Humors of Bandon." The latter he seemed much to enjoy, dwelling upon some of the notes in a style peculiarly grotesque. But the third seems to have been the most amusing of the lot. He took up his station in front of the pulpit, and signified by his pipes * what he thought of the discourse. If he heard anything that pleased him, he would make the pipes utter three or four jocular squeaks, musically intimating his satisfaction; if anything otherwise, he would lower his tubes, and give out a deep, melancholy drone of disapprobation. Meanwhile, the congregation looked on; and though, at any other time or place, the ultra-comic nature of the scene might have caused shouts of merriment, yet, considering the orchestra selected by the pipers, and the circumstances under which the musical *matinee* was performed, we must not be surprised at the solemn silence maintained. Upon Mac Carthy's arrival, the pipers were ordered out of the church, and permission given to the women and children to return to their homes; but the men were all made prisoners. The people of Ballymoodan Church were similarly treated, the men alone being detained.

After spending some hours in pillaging the town, they conveyed all their plunder and their prisoners into the castle, that, up to about fifty years ago, still occupied the piece of ground on the right of the Court-House, upon which at present stands the Town

* An old writer describes the Irish pipes as "a squealing engine, fit only for a bear-garden."

Hall. The property seized on by them was not much, as the townspeople had carefully concealed the most of their valuables on the approach of General Justin Mac Carthy; and, the times being very disturbed ever since, they prudently left them where they were. The prisoners, however, were both numerous and respectable; every man for whose ransom they expected anything being secured. The rest, not being considered of any value, were permitted to go at large.

Meanwhile, various other parties were scouring the country, pillaging and bringing in prisoners. One strong party made a fierce onslaught upon Castle Mahon; but Mr. Bernard, having received timely notice of their approach, had his retainers armed and ready to receive them. They first boldly assaulted the main entrance, and endeavored to batter in the great gate; but the guard was on the alert, and vigorously repulsed them. They then attacked every window and door where it was even possible an entrance could be forced, but in vain. The brave defenders met them at every point, and hurled them back; but they did not despair. Quickly possessing themselves of the out-houses, they kept up a continuous discharge of musketry at every ope and loophole in the fortress. At length, seeing no likelihood of success, they retreated, but not until they had inflicted a severe loss in killed and wounded upon the little garrison within, amongst whom was the owner of the castle, Mr. Francis Bernard, who valiantly lost his life in its defence.

Another party surprised the house of Mr. Francis Banfield, of Shinagh. Finding the door unfastened, they easily obtained admission, and rushed in. They found him standing near the kitchen-fire, talking to his wife,

and immediately ordered him "to come along." The poor man hesitated, not well knowing what to do, upon which one of the marauders presented his musket at his head, and would most assuredly have stained his hearthstone with his brains, had not his wife bounded forward, and, throwing her arms around him, received the discharge in the upper portion of the left arm, which not only shattered the bone, but tore open the entire shoulder, and no small portion of the chest. They then dragged him outside the door. But, leaning forward to take one last look at her who had probably lost her life in order to prolong his, he perceived her lying near a chair; her pale face, and the white-washed wall against which she lay, being smeared with her blood. He implored the leader to be allowed to whisper but one affectionate farewell—yea, to breathe but one word—into her ear, before they were separated, probably, for ever; but his reply was a stroke of a halberd, which laid open his face from the cheek-bone to the chin, and covered him with blood. His cattle were all driven away, his effects destroyed, and he, who rose up that morning in affluence and in happiness, closed his weary eyelids that night a disconsolate husband and a beggar.

After all the prisoners were brought together, Mac Carthy addressed them, as well as those friends who had come to see them off. He told them, "That all he, and the others on the same side with him, wanted was their own; that he wouldn't dispossess one of them, for, so help him God, he knew no one he would prefer as a tenant to any of them; and that what he merely required was that they should pay him their rents for the future, instead of Lord Cork."

Early on the following morning, those prisoners

whose friends were unable or unwilling to pay the required ransom were marched off, strongly escorted, to Kerry, where they were confined in a Protestant church. During the time of their incarceration, which was about four weeks, they were tolerably well treated, and fairly provisioned, but in a manner rather primitive; for, if their captors wanted to supply them with beef, they would drive in a cow, telling them there was the meat, and to divide it between them. Potatoes and wood were literally showered down on their heads through a hole in the roof; and water was supplied them by being passed in through a small aperture in one of the closed-up windows. The women and children that were left behind did not fare near so well; for, being closely imprisoned, they were in continual apprehension of being murdered. It was no uncommon thing for their guards, in some of their fiendish freaks of humor, to drag out four of the females, and, placing a pack of cards in their hands, order them to play for their lives, telling them, at the same time, that they intended to kill them all, but would begin with the unsuccessful.

This state of things continued about a month, when Mac Carthy—who had been in daily apprehension of King William's arrival, and considering that, in such case, the prisoners would be likely to embarrass his movements, and otherwise prove a serious incumbrance, should James be unfortunate—resolved on restoring them their liberty. This he did, contenting himself with exacting the promise of a ransom so small, that it did not exceed in amount a fiftieth part of what he had previously demanded. At the same time, he sent peremptory orders to his garrison in Bandon to withdraw from the town, and join him without delay. The

men, fearing from such haste, that something dreadful was about to happen, or that they would be surprised on their way home, evacuated the place in a perfect panic, taking nothing with them but their arms and accoutrements, having buried in and around the castle, where they had been quartered, all the plunder they had collected in the town and country during their occupation. Although we could not expect to find those half-civilized militia-men possessed of any species of forbearance, impressed, too, as they had been from their youth, with the conviction that their country and their forefathers had suffered centuries of oppression at the hands of the English, yet, in one respect, they behaved towards their female captives in a manner which would favorably contrast with the conduct of any garrison of our own day similarly circumstanced.*

When the Bandon men returned from their captivity, many of them, being joined by others, formed a volunteer corps. They elected all their own officers; and, after a little hasty training, they hastened northwards to meet Schomberg, intending to join the king on his landing.

* Many of these facts we have from an intelligent old gentleman, who, we are happy to say, is not only alive, but also in possession of excellent health and spirits. He is the son of one whose father and two brothers were amongst the captives in Kerry. It speaks volumes for the salubrity and healthy situation of Bandon, to find that there is only one link in the grave between our venerable informant and those who, having arrived at man's estate, were carried off prisoners more than one hundred and seventy years ago. But there is even a more singular instance here still of a long stretch into the past. A short time since, we met the Rev. T. Waugh, an old and much respected inhabitant of our town. Mr. Waugh often conversed with one who was old enough to remember the siege of Londonderry, and who used to relate, with all the freshness and vividness of a recent impression, many interesting circumstances connected with that ever-memorable struggle. We doubt if, in the whole world, can be found another instance of so close a connection between our day and any event so long since recorded in history.

William did not keep them long waiting. "He arrived at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June, and immediately set out for Belfast, where he was received with loud shouts of 'God save the Protestant king!' The night came; but the Protestant counties were awake and up. A royal salute had been fired from the Castle of Belfast. It had been echoed and re-echoed by guns which had been placed at wide intervals for the purpose of conveying signals. Wherever the peal was heard, it was known that King William had come. Before midnight, all the heights of Down and Antrim were blazing with bonfires. The lights were seen, and gave notice to the outposts of the enemy that the decided hour was at hand. Lough Brickland was the place appointed for the rendezvous of his scattered army, from which place he marched southwards ten days after, fully determined on fighting the very first opportunity. Schomberg and the other officers advised caution and delay; but the king replied, that he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. William continued to march on, the Irish retreating before him, till, on the morning of the 30th of June, his army, marching in three columns, reached the summit of a rising ground near the southern frontier of the county of Louth. When William caught sight of the valley of the Boyne, he could not suppress an exclamation of delight. He had been apprehensive that the enemy would avoid a decisive action, and would protract the war till the autumnal rains should return with pestilence in their train. He was now at ease. It was plain that the contest would be short and sharp. The pavilion of James was pitched on the eminence of Donore. The flags of the house of Stuart and of the house of Bourbon

waved together in defiance on the walls of Drogheda. All the southern bank of the river was lined by the camp and batteries of the hostile army. Thousands of armed men were moving about amongst the tents; and every one—horse-soldier and foot-soldier, French and Irish—had a white badge in his hat. That color had been chosen in compliment to the house of Bourbon. ‘I am glad to see you, gentlemen,’ said the king, as his keen eye surveyed the Irish lines. ‘If you escape me, the fault will be mine.’ Each of the contending princes had some advantage over his rival. James, standing on the defensive behind entrenchments, with the river running before him, had the stronger position; but his troops were inferior, both in number and in quality, to those opposed to him. He probably had about thirty thousand men. One-third of this force consisted of excellent French infantry and excellent Irish cavalry; but the rest of his army were the scoff of all Europe. The Irish dragoons were bad, the Irish infantry worse. It was said that their ordinary way of fighting was to discharge their pieces once, and then run away, bawling, ‘Quarter!’ and ‘Murder!’ William had under his command thirty-six thousand men, born in many lands, and speaking in many tongues. Scarcely any Protestant church, scarcely one Protestant nation, was unrepresented in his army. About half the troops were natives of England. Ormond was there with the Life Guards, and Oxford with the Blues; Sir John Lanier was at the head of the Queen’s Regiment of Horse, now the 1st Dragoon Guards; Beaumont’s foot, who, in defiance of James, refused to admit Irish Papists among them; Hastings’s foot; the two Tangier battalions; the Scotch guards

under James Douglas ; two fine British regiments, who had often looked death in the face under William's leading (they now rank as the 5th and 6th of the line). Conspicuous amongst the Dutch troops were Portland's and Ginkell's horse, and Solmes's blue regiment, consisting of two thousand of the finest infantry in Europe. A strong brigade of Danish mercenaries was commanded by Duke Charles of Wirtemberg. It was reported, that, of all the soldiers of William, they were the most dreaded by the Irish ; an ancient prophecy being still repeated amongst them with superstitious horror, that 'the Danes would one day destroy the children of the soil.' Among the foreign auxiliaries were a Brandenburg regiment and a Friesland regiment. But in that great body, so variously composed, were two bodies of men animated by a spirit peculiarly fierce and implacable—the Huguenots of France thirsting for the blood of the French, and the Englishry of Ireland impatient to trample down the Irish. All the boldest spirits of the unconquerable colonies that had been planted in Ireland repaired to William's camp. Mitchellbourne was there with the stubborn defenders of Londonderry, and Wolseley with the warriors who had raised the unanimous shout of 'Advance!' on the day of Newtown-Butler, and Sir Albert Conyngham with a gallant regiment of dragoons, which still glories in the name of Enniskillen.

"Tuesday, the first day of July, dawned. The sun rose bright and cloudless. Soon after four, both armies were in motion. William ordered his right wing, under the command of Meinhart Schomberg (one of the duke's sons), to march to the Bridge of Slane, some miles up the river, to cross there, and to turn the left

flank of the Irish army. Meinhart Schomberg was assisted by Portland and Douglas. James, anticipating some such design, had already sent to the bridge a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Sir Neil O'Neil. O'Neil behaved himself like a brave gentleman; but he soon received a mortal wound. His men fled, and the English right wing passed the river. This move made Lauzun uneasy. What if the English right wing should get into the rear of the army of James? About four miles south of the river was a place called Duleek, where the road to Dublin was so narrow, that two cars could not pass each other, and where, on both sides of the road, lay a morass which afforded no firm footing. If Meinhart Schomberg should occupy this spot, it would be impossible for the Irish to escape. They must either conquer, or be cut off to a man. Disturbed by this apprehension, the French general marched with his countrymen and with Sarsfield's horse in the direction of Slane's Bridge. Thus the fords near Oldbridge were left to be defended by the Irish alone.

"It was now near ten o'clock. William put himself at the head of his left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry. Schomberg gave the word. Solmes's Blues were the first to move. They marched gallantly, with drums beating, to the brink of the Boyne. There the drums stopped, and the men descended, ten abreast, into the water. Next plunged in the men of Londonderry and Enniskillen. A little to the left, Caillemot crossed at the head of a long column of French refugees. A little to their left, the main body of the English struggled through the river up to their armpits in water. Still further down, the Danes found another ford. In a few minutes, the

Boyne, for a quarter of a mile, was alive with muskets and green boughs. It was not till the assailants had reached the middle of the river, that they became aware of the difficulty and danger of the service in which they were engaged. They had as yet seen little more than half of the hostile army. Now, whole regiments of horse and foot seemed to start out of the earth. A wild shout of defiance rose from the whole shore. During one moment, the event seemed doubtful; but the Protestants pressed forward, and, in another moment, the whole Irish line gave way. Tyreconnell looked on in hopeless despair. Several of his best officers fell, vainly endeavoring to prevail on their soldiers to look the Dutch Blues in the face. Hamilton ordered a body of foot to fall on the French refugees, who were still deep in the water. He led the way, and, accompanied by several courageous gentlemen, advanced sword in hand into the river; but neither his commands nor his example could infuse courage into the mob of cow-stealers. Farther down the river, Antrim's division ran like sheep at the approach of the English column. Whole regiments flung away arms, colors, and cloaks, and scampered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot. Hamilton put himself at the head of the cavalry; and, under his command, they maintained a desperate fight, in the bed of the river, with Solmes's Blues. They drove the Danish brigade back into the stream. They fell impetuously on the Huguenot regiments, which, not being provided with pikes, then ordinarily used by foot to repel horse, began to give ground. Caillemot, while encouraging his fellow-exiles, received a mortal wound in the thigh. Four of his men carried him back across the ford to his

tent. As he passed, he continued to urge forward his rear ranks, which were still up to the breast in the water: 'On, on, my lads, to glory! to glory!' Schomberg, who had remained on the northern bank, now thought the emergency required from him the personal exertions of a soldier. Without defensive armor, he rode through the river, and rallied the refugees whom the fall of Caillemot had dismayed. 'Come on!' he cried in French, pointing to the popish squadrons—'come on, gentlemen! there are your persecutors!' These were his last words. As he spoke, a band of Irish horsemen rushed upon him, and encircled him for a moment. When they retired, he was on the ground. His friends raised him; but he was already a corpse. Two sabre-wounds were on his head, and a bullet from a carbine was lodged in his neck. Almost at the same time, Walker, who had played so conspicuous a part in the siege of Londonderry, whilst exhorting the colonists of Ulster to play the men, was shot dead.

"During near half an hour, the battle continued to rage. Along the southern shore of the river, all was smoke, and confusion, and dust, and din. Old soldiers were heard to say, that they had seldom seen sharper work in the Low Countries. But, just at this juncture, William came up with the left wing. He had found much difficulty in crossing. The tide was running fast. His charger had been forced to swim, and had been almost lost in the mud. As soon as the king was on firm ground, he took his sword in his left hand—for his right arm was stiff with his wound and his bandage—and led his men to where the fight was hottest. His arrival decided the fate of the day. Yet the Irish horse retired fighting obstinately. It was

long remembered among the colonists of Ulster, that, in the midst of the tumult, William rode to the head of the Enniskilleners. 'What will you do for me?' he cried. He was not immediately recognized; and one trooper, taking him for an enemy, was about to fire. William gently put aside the carbine. 'What!' said he, 'do you not know your friends?'—'It is his majesty,' said the colonel. The ranks of sturdy Protestant yeomen set up a shout of joy. 'Gentlemen,' said William, 'you shall be my guards to-day. I have heard much of you. Let me see something of you.' On this memorable day, the king was seen wherever the peril was greatest. One ball struck the cap of his pistol; another carried off the heel of his jack-boot. His troops, animated by his example, gained ground fast. The Irish cavalry made their last stand at a house called Plottin Castle, about a mile and a half south of Oldbridge. There the Enniskilleners were repelled with the loss of fifty men, and were hotly pursued, until William rallied them, and turned the chase back. In this encounter, Hamilton was severely wounded and taken prisoner, and instantly brought through the smoke and over the carnage before the prince whom he had so foully wronged. 'Is this business over?' said William, 'or will your horse show more fight?'—'On my honor, sir,' answered Hamilton, 'I believe they will.'—'Your honor!' muttered William, 'your honor!' Then, restraining himself, he ordered his own surgeon to look to the hurts of the captive.

"And now the battle was over. Hamilton was mistaken in thinking that his horse would continue to fight. Whole troops had been cut to pieces. One fine

regiment had only thirty unwounded men left. The slaughter had been less than on any battle-field of equal importance and celebrity. Of the Irish, only about fifteen hundred had fallen;* but they were almost all cavalry—the flower of the army. William gave strict orders that there should be no unnecessary bloodshed, and enforced these orders by an act of laudable severity. One of his soldiers, after the fight was over, butchered three defenceless Irishmen who asked for quarter. William ordered the murderer to be hanged on the spot. The loss of the conquerors did not exceed five hundred men, but amongst them was the first captain in Europe. To his corpse every honor was paid. It was announced that the brave old warrior should have a public funeral in Westminster. Meanwhile, the body was embalmed, and deposited in a leaden coffin. Walker was treated less respectfully. William thought him a busybody, and expressed that feeling with characteristic bluntness on the field of battle. ‘Sir,’ said an attendant, ‘the Bishop of Derry has been killed by a shot at the ford.’—‘What took him there?’ growled the king. The victorious army advanced that day to Duleek, and passed that night under the open sky.† On the next day, Drogheda surrendered.

* Amongst whom were the Marquis of Harquincourt, Captains Arundel, Ashton, Dungan, and Fitzgerald, Major Meara, Monsieur D’Amanda, Sir Charles Tooke, and the Earl of Carlingford.

† The battle of the Boyne was celebrated in a ballad, which has survived to our own day, as follows :

“ July the 1st, in Oldbridge town,
There was a grievous battle,
Where many a man lay on the ground
By cannons that did rattle.

“ King James he pitched his tents between
The lines, for to retire;
But King William threw his bombshells in,
And set them all on fire.

"After the battle was lost, James repaired in hot haste to Dublin, where he arrived soon after sunset; and, early next morning, he took his departure, crossed the Wicklow Hills, and never stopped until he was fifty miles from Dublin. He soon started again, rode hard all night, and at sunset, on the 3rd of July,

"Therent enraged, they vowed revenge
Upon King William's forces,
And oft did vehemently cry
That they would stop their courses.

"A bullet from the Irish came,
Which grazed King William's arm :
They thought his majesty was slain ;
Yet it did him little harm.

"Duke Schomberg then, in friendly care,
His king would often caution
To shun the spot where bullets hot
Retained their rapid motion.

"But William said, 'He don't deserve
The name of Faith's Defender
Who would not venture life and limb
To make a foe surrender.'

"When we the Boyne began to cross,
The Irish they descended ;
But few of our brave men were lost,
So nobly we defended.

"The horse they were the first crossed o'er ;
The foot they followed after :
But brave Duke Schomberg was no more
By crossing o'er the water.

"When gallant Schomberg he was slain,
King William he accosted
His warlike men for to march on,
And he would be the foremost.

"'Brave men,' said he, 'be not dismayed
At the loss of one commander ;
For God will be our King to-day,
And I'll be general under.'

"Then bravely we the Boyne did cross
To give the enemy battle ;
Our cannon, to our foes' great cost,
Like thundering elaps did rattle.

"In majestic style, our king rode o'er ;
His men soon followed after,
And 'twas soon we put our foes to rout
The day we crossed the water.

"The Protestants of Drogheda
Have reasons to be thankful
That they were not to bondage brought,
They being but a handful.

reached the harbor of Waterford. Thence he went by sea to Kinsale, where he embarked on board a French frigate, and sailed for Brest. Early on the morning of the day James left Dublin, Tyrconnell and Lauzun collected all their forces, and marched out of the city by the road leading to Kildare; and the same night, at eight o'clock, a troop of English dragoons arrived.

"First to the Tholsel they were brought,
And then to Millmount after;
But brave King William set them free
By venturing over the water.

"The cunning French near to Duleek
Had taken up their quarters,
And fenced themselves on every side,
Just waiting for new orders.

"But, in the dead time of the night,
They set their tents on fire,
And, long before the morning's light,
To Dublin did retire.

"Then said King William to his men,
After the French departed,
'I am glad,' said he, 'that none of ye
Seem for to be faint-hearted.

"So sheathe your swords, and rest awhile;
In time we will follow after.'
These words he uttered with a smile
The day he crossed the water.

"Come, let us all, with heart and voice,
Applaud our lives' defender,
Who at the Boyne his valor showed,
And made his foe surrender.

"To God above the praise we'll give,
Both now and ever after,
And bless the glorious memory of
King William that crossed the water."

Some of the evils that fell upon old Ireland by the successes of William are still preserved in a little poem written by one Gulielmus O'Callaghan (a Kanturk schoolmaster), beginning with—

"Bad luck to ould bandy-legged Schomberg,
King William and Mary, also!
Oh! 'tis they that did water ould Ireland
With bloodshed, an' murder, an' woe."

But scarcely had poor Gulielmus completed his interesting recital of Erin's woes, when he was pounced upon by some of Scragvenmore's troopers, and mercilessly put to death.

They were met by the whole Protestant population on College Green, where the statue of the deliverer now stands. William delayed his visit until the morning of Sunday, the 6th of July, when he rode in great state to the Cathedral of St. Patrick; and there, with the crown on his head, he returned thanks to God.”*

* For this brilliant account of the battle of the Boyne, we are indebted to Macaulay.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BANDON VOLUNTEERS AT THE BOYNE—THE ANNIVERSARY AT BANDON—A LOYAL HORSE—THE CHARACTER OF WILLIAM—CONFLICTING RUMORS AS TO THE RESULT OF THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE REACH BANDON—THE OLD SOLDIER—GINKELL'S HORSE—DIVINE HONORS PAID KING WILLIAM IN KILBROGAN—KINSALE FORT TAKEN BY MARLBOROUGH—COLONEL O'DRISCOLL'S REGIMENT ATTACKS CASTLETOWN—COLONEL BEECHER—CLONAKILTY ATTACKED—BRIGADIER CARROLL STORMS AND BURNS ENNISKEAN—THE BANDON MILITIA—PROCLAMATION OF MR. JUSTICE COX—LIMERICK CAPITULATES—SARSFIELD'S DIVISION EMBARKS AT CORK—THE IRISH GENTRY HOPELESSLY RUINED—INTERESTING PARTICULARS.

THE Bandon men had been attached to the auxiliaries from Londonderry, with whom they followed Solmes's Blues into the water, and by whose side they remained fighting throughout the day. At this distance of time, we are unable to mention any special acts of valor performed by them, as tradition only briefly relates that they fought like men; but we may fairly assume that they were not behind their heroic brethren of the maiden city in all the qualifications essential to brave soldiers. After the battle was over, the Bandonians, seeing that their military services were no longer requisite, and acting upon the principle that all was fair in war, roamed over the battle-field in quest of riderless horses, and whatever else they might consider legitimate trophies of war. In this they only followed the example of their superiors. Lord Coningsby, for instance, is said to have taken three hundred head of horned cattle, and also several horses, that were left behind by the army of James, without rendering any

account of them to the king. After securing a number of horses sufficient almost to mount the entire band, they marched for Bandon, led by one of their valiant non-commissioned officers (Corporal Sloane), whose only qualification for the important post which he then held, as far as we can ascertain, was, that his charger was equal in value to the mounts of nearly all the others, having belonged, during the day, to an Irish officer of rank, many of whose trappings were still affixed when captured by the gallant volunteer. The horse was subsequently called Billy Boyne—Billy in compliment to the king, and Boyne in reference to the locality where he changed masters.

For close upon a century and a quarter afterwards, the battle fought between King William and King James used to be fought over again on the anniversary of that memorable event; the scene being changed from the banks of the Boyne to the banks of the Bandon, and the bloodless rivalry of a sham-fight substituted for all the dread realities of actual war. The 1st of July was to the people of Bandon what the 4th is to the Americans, or the celebration of Bannockburn was to the Scotch. It was the anniversary of their deliverance. Early on the morning of that day, flags and streamers floated from the belfries of the churches; the royal oak was planted at the intersection of streets, quays, and other public places; the houses were covered with oak-branches, with which the bright lily was tastefully entwined—a flower as ardently worshipped by the followers of William as the red rose was by the house of Lancaster, or the white by the rival one of York. After breakfast, preparations were made for the great event of the day. The people were divided into

two hostile camps. One was supposed to fight for the divine right of kings, ultra-toryism, and King James; whilst the other as vigorously contended for a free Parliament, liberal institutions, and King William. James's party possessed themselves of the bank of the river on the Ballymoodan side, extending from the bridge to the piece of ground now occupied by the gas-works; whilst William's party held the Water-Gate bank, beginning also at the bridge, and extending as far down as where the Messrs. Cornwall's brewery now stands. After reviewing, shouting, speeching, and huzzaing, Billy Boyne would be brought forth, arrayed in all his battle-field accoutrements. He would have his Boyne saddle-cloth on, his Boyne holsters and silver-mounted pistols, and all the other trappings which rendered him so attractive the evening Corporal Tom patted him on the back, and vowed he should accompany him to the sunny south. Being led along the ranks, Billy used evidently to feel vain of his position. He used to curvet, and prance, and look as proudly at his old Boyne regimentals, as if he were born every inch a soldier. Finally, he was brought in front of the stand of colors, where he was mounted by "Schomberg," one of the volunteers usually doing duty for the old marshal on these occasions; and "Schomberg," having addressed his followers in suitable terms, used to conclude by pointing to "their persecutors" on the opposite bank, and then charge resolutely into the river, followed by all his forces. When about half way across, bang would go a shot from one of the persecutors, and slap-bang would go "Schomberg" into the water. At this the Williamites would become desperate. They would plunge through the stream, foaming with rage; and,

should they lay hands on "their persecutors" at this moment, they would probably discover that playing the Jacobite even in joke, with Bandon people for opponents, was an amusement not always safe to indulge in. The admirers of brass money and wooden shoes knew this well; and, by the time "Schomberg's" comrades reached the shore, they had become invisible. That night they all used to sup together, and enjoy themselves with rum, beer, fireworks, and punch in profusion. The loyal horse, too, came in for his share of the good things; and when they would come to the toast of the evening—"The glorious, pious, and immortal memory"—a full bumper of the best October would be poured into his bucket, which he used to drink off with all the gusto of a real true blue. Poor Billy died about the year 1708, and was publicly buried in the churchyard of Ballymoodan; and we are told that many a wet eye became wetter, and many a sad heart sadder still, as the stones and clay rolled for ever over the inanimate form of the once gay and joyous old Boyne campaigner, Billy Boyne.*

The custom of celebrating the Boyne anniversary by a sham-fight continued until the year 1809; and the last "Schomberg" we have any account of was the late Mr. William Banfield, of Shinagh. The planting of oak-trees, with paintings of William crossing the Boyne, continued until the passing of the Party-Processions Act; whilst the practice of decorating the churches with flags and streamers remained until 1858; and we are happy to add, that the only traces we have now of

* For many a long year after, Billy Boyne was a favorite name for a pet horse; and, even down to our own day, its corruption, Billy Boy, is not entirely forgotten.

those bygone celebrations are the few harmless shots that are discharged, on the 1st of July, by a few harmless little boys.*

The character of William seems to us to be grossly misunderstood by a class of politicians, who think there are few loyal men outside their own *coterie*. These are in the habit of associating with his name intolerance, bigotry, and other attributes, by no one more severely condemned than by William himself. It is stated, that he was most anxious to press on the legislature of his time a measure of relief to his Roman-Catholic subjects almost as extensive as Catholic emancipation, and was also anxious to provide a suitable endowment for their clergy at the expense of the state. William was in politics a Whig. By the ultramontane Tories he was detested. Macaulay tells us, that they hated him with a hatred half frightful, half ludicrous. Sancroft (the primate) and those bishops who vacated their sees, rather than acknowledge William as their sovereign, had been engaged framing prayers for the destruction of the Protestant colonies in Ireland, for the defeat of the English fleet in the channel, and for the speedy arrival of a French army in Kent. William was told that this was the result of his merciful policy, and that never had he committed a greater error than when he supposed the allegiance of his clergy was to be won by clemency, or maintained by moderation. William was a follower of Calvin, and may fairly be ranked with the Dissenters. Like them, he hated showy altar-cloths, stained-glass windows, and all the mediæval accessories

* We take this opportunity of acknowledging our frequent obligations to a young friend, who, at no inconsiderable expenditure of time and labor, has collected many of the interesting events detailed in our preceding pages.

to devotion, with all the intensity of a Cromwellian ; whilst so much did he resemble them in the rigid austerities of their lives, that he was never known even once to cross the threshold of a theatre. He was also a great benefactor of this important body of religionists, and may well be called the Dissenters' King. One of his first acts, on landing in Ireland, was to empower the collector of customs at Belfast to pay twelve hundred pounds annually to some of the dissenting ministers, who were to become trustees for their brethren, and thus laid the foundation of the *regium donum*—a sum now annually voted by the imperial Parliament towards the support of the ministers of the various Presbyterian bodies in this kingdom.

No news had been received in Bandon for several days after the battle had been fought at the Boyne. The townspeople were on the tip-toe of expectation ; but they had been punished with such severity on a recent occasion, that they were afraid to make any premature manifestation of their wishes. At last, upon the Monday succeeding the great events of the preceding week, various conflicting rumors reached them. One report prevailed that William was killed by a cannon-shot early in the fight, and that all his army were slain or taken prisoners. Another was, that the Irish had been routed with great slaughter, and that several of their generals were in the hands of the victors. With minds racked with indecision, and filled with gloomy apprehensions, they knew not what to do. What if James should be the conqueror ? Then farewell to the labors of many a weary year ; farewell to the fields made fruitful by their industry ; farewell their altars, their liberties, their all. But, should William be

victorious, then all would be again joyous and happy. Whilst in this uncertain state, and with hope and fear alternately predominating in their breasts, a young man arrived nearly exhausted from fatigue, and announced, with a terrified look, that a large body of cavalry were coming down Kilpatrick Hill, and speaking in a language he could not understand. Consternation was immediately apparent on every face. Their utter helplessness, adding force to their fears, convinced them that they could be none other than the French, who were coming to take possession of their town, whilst the remembrance of all they had suffered, not yet three months since, so overcame the women, that several of them sank on their knees, devoutly praying that God would remove them from this world, rather than that they should again witness scenes similar to what they had lately beheld. But their despondency was not of long continuance. It soon brightened into gladness, when into their midst hobbled an old soldier, named Delaroy—one who had long served his country in foreign lands, and who had often faced death in many a hard-fought battle-field. Having pushed his way into the crowd, and learned from the young man all the particulars he could collect as to the uniform and accoutrements of the approaching troops, he finally asked if they wore any ornaments on their head-dress. "Oh, yes!" said he, "they have silver bugles in front of their caps."—"Then, huzza!" shouted the old veteran, throwing his crutch into the air,* and bounding with very joy, "them be the Dutch horse, and many

* Delaroy was not only lamed in both legs from wounds, but also lost one of his eyes from the same cause; notwithstanding which, he was a first-rate marksman, and, upon one occasion, is stated to have killed two men with one shot.

and many is the time I seed them fellows afore in the Low Countries." Meanwhile, the cavalry approached; and, having arrived where the cross-road meets the north-eastern extremity of Kilbrogan glebe, they halted, and sent forward a trumpeter with a letter to the authorities, by which it appeared that the force consisted of two troops of Ginkell's horse, who had been sent by William to garrison the town. One troop passed along Kilbrogan Street, and into the town through North Gate; the other passed down the old Cork Road, and thence in by the Water Gate. We need hardly say that they were both thankfully and triumphantly received.

Upon the following Sunday, at noon service, the demure congregation assembled at Kilbrogan Church witnessed a display which, for strangeness and singularity, has never been equalled there since, and was only surpassed when the Irish pipers, in this very place of worship, had so far acted in concert as to play different tunes at the same time, and where they enacted the ludicrous scenes detailed in our foregoing pages. It seems that amongst the many patrons who, at that time, showered blessings on the head of the Protestant king, was old Eldad Holland, the parish clerk of Kilbrogan. Eldad held William in high esteem, and resolved on taking the first fitting opportunity of paying his majesty suitable honors. Accordingly, at the conclusion of the first lesson, he gave out, "Let us sing to the praise and glory of William a psalm of my own composing:

" William is come home, come home,
William home is come;
And now let us in his praise
Sing a Te Deum."

He continued :

“ We praise thee, O William !

We acknowledge thee to be our king.”

Adding, with an impressive shake of the head, “ And, faith ! a good right we have ; for it is he who saved us from brass money, wooden shoes, and popery.” He then resumed the old version, and reverentially continued to the end.

The success of King William entailed proportionate ill success on King James. What brought life to the hopes of one prince carried death to those of the other. But, though the important victory gained by William resulted in the surrender of Drogheda and the evacuation of Dublin, yet, excepting what he had marched through from his landing, and the district held for him by the Enniskilleners, all the rest of Ireland was as hostile to him as ever. The royal banner of the Stuarts still floated from the battlements of Cork. A similar one streamed over the fort and barracks of Kinsale, over Limerick, Galway, and dozens of other garrisons throughout the south and west. Under these circumstances, one would have supposed the Bandonians, who had suffered so much and so often, and that within a very limited period, would have remained quiet, more especially as, within a few miles of where they stood, Sir Edward Scott commanded a body of foot twelve hundred strong in James’s interest. Colonel O’Driscoll’s regiment, too, composed of men raised in the west of the county, and with whose fathers and forefathers the Bandon people had been striving for the ascendancy for generations, was equally near ; and Cork—the city which poured its thousands around their walls not yet eighteen months since—was as devoted and as vehement

on the same side as heretofore. Notwithstanding that everything was against them, and that they had no friends to give them even the poor encouragement of their sympathy, in all that portion of the kingdom extending from the southern limits of Dublin to Cape Clear, and from Wexford to Kilkee, yet, on the 16th of July—months before the mortars of Marlborough threw bombshells from Cat Fort into “The Beautiful City,” or the battery at the Red Abbey tore a breach in its wall—they assembled themselves together; and stimulated by that undeviating attachment to the Protestant cause which defeat could not overturn, or bloodshed extinguish, they courageously came forward, again rebelled against the sovereignty of King James, and, as if already conquerors, they triumphantly decreed, “That the new charter brought and produced by Teige Mac Carthy, under the government and under the broad seal of this kingdom, had become null and void; and that the old charter be revived, and stand in force. And, by virtue thereof, we have assembled ourselves together in the former house, and elected and appointed Mr. John Nash to be provost of the borough for the year to come; he first taking the usual oaths, and the oath of loyalty to our gracious sovereigns, William and Mary, King and Queen of England,” &c. This defiant edict was dated July 16, 1690, and was signed by Edward Turner, Christopher Grinway, Isaac Browne, and Daniel Beamish. It will be seen, from the date just mentioned, that the corporation of James lasted within a few days of two years and four months. Throughout the whole of their career—save in the one instance of directing that the sum of six shillings and eightpence should be levied off every one objecting to

become free of the corporation, and thereby refusing to swear allegiance to James II.—they acted with a leniency that could not reasonably be expected from them. Indeed, they would seem to have carried conciliation almost to the very verge of partizanship with their enemies in their efforts to humor the prejudices of the stubborn people over whom they were placed; and so far did they strain points in this particular, that in the most sensitive of all our prejudices—our religious feelings—it was those of their opponents they sought to gratify, and not their own. Throughout the entire of their domination here, there is no reference to any Roman-Catholic clergyman having been admitted to reside within the walls, until the 24th of June—a few days prior to the eventful 1st of July—when that permission was, for the first time, bestowed on Father Michael Crowley, but not until he produced an order from King James; so that even this small concession to a minister of their own faith was not granted by them either as a right or as a favor, but solely because the aforesaid Father Crowley presented a mandate from his gracious majesty in that behalf. This was their last recorded act.

The following is a complete list of the free burgesses in 1689, authenticated by the signature of the provost for that year :

Daniel Mac Carthy (Reagh),
Charles Mac Carthy,
Edward Collyer,
Thomas Knight,
Cornelius Conner,
Murtogh Downy,
Edmond Barret,
Andrew Callaghan,

John Walshe,
Daniel Crowe,
Denis Riordan,
Arthur Keefe,
William Horc,
Thomas Curtin,
Charles Mac Carthy,
Francis Garvan,

Denis Leary,
Cornelius Leary,
Dermod Mac Carthy,
John Goold,
John Archdeacon,

Kadogh Leary,
James Purcell,
Dermod Keohane,
Robert Casey, *Provost*.

On the 22nd of September, the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Marlborough arrived in Cork Harbor for the purpose of besieging the city; and, on the 28th, everything being ready for a general assault, Colonel Mac Elligot (the governor) agreed to surrender the town and garrison on conditions. The governor, however, previous to the capitulation, received five hundred pounds from the inhabitants to spare the town; notwithstanding which, he set fire to it at both ends, by which means a great portion of it was destroyed.

On the 2nd of October, Marlborough arrived at Kinsale, and, the very next day, attacked the old fort, which he valiantly assaulted, and took by storm, killing the governor (Colonel O'Driscoll) and two hundred of his men; and the rest, amounting to two hundred and fifty, he took prisoners. Charles Fort was then summoned; but Sir Edward Scott (the governor) pertinently replied, that "it would be time enough a month hence to talk of surrendering." Upon this, trenches were opened up, and batteries erected; those on the east side being manned by the Danes, and those on the northern side by the English. After a fortnight's cannonading, a breach was effected by the Danes; and the English having previously possessed themselves of the counter-scarp, a mine was sprung, which greatly damaged the enemy's works. When everything was ready for the assault, the governor capitulated upon very easy terms; the garrison, consisting of twelve hundred men, being allowed to march to Limerick, with all their arms and

baggage; Marlborough retaining only the stores, amongst which, however, were one thousand barrels of wheat, one thousand barrels of beef, forty tuns of claret, and large quantities of sack, brandy, and strong beer. Having left his brother (Brigadier Churchill) Governor of Charles Fort, he placed his regiments in winter quarters at Cork, Kinsale, and Bandon, and then returned with the fleet to Portsmouth.

Previous to his going on board, he held a reception in Cork, where great numbers of the well affected went to pay their regards, amongst whom was Mr. Gosnell, of Kilpatrick, who waited on him at the head of a cavalcade composed of his wife and twenty-one children—fourteen sons and seven daughters. But he paid dearly for his loyalty; for the Rapparees, taking advantage of his absence, attacked his dwelling, and burnt it and its contents to the ground so effectually, that, when Gosnell returned, all he was able to discover in the ruins were the left hand of a woman and two pewter plates.*

At this time, the large district to the west of Bandon was almost entirely in the hands of the rebels. These were for the most part composed of trained soldiers, who had served under King James, and were led by officers who, for bravery and daring, were inferior to none. They marched through the country, with their pipers at their head, and caused great consternation amongst the outlying colonists. They even ventured, when in sufficient force, to attack villages, and even towns. Five hundred of O'Driscoll's regiment—a division of which had been so roughly handled by Marlborough at Kinsale—under the command of young

* The latter are still in being.

Colonel O'Driscoll, attempted to burn Castletown; but they were repulsed by Colonel Townsend and his brave little garrison of thirty-five men with such success, that they were compelled to retreat, leaving behind them twelve of their dead. Nothing daunted, they again renewed the attack, but this time with results still more disastrous; for they fled, leaving Colonel O'Driscoll, Captain Teige Donovan, Captain Croneen, Captain Mac Ronaine, and thirty rank and file, lying dead upon the streets, and a great number of wounded. Mac Ronaine behaved like a brave soldier. It was mainly owing to him that the Irish were brought up to the attack; but the stuff of which his troops were composed may be inferred from the fact that several of his men actually advanced with bundles of straw tied round their breasts to protect them from the shot. Upon the fall of Mac Ronaine, his forces gave way, and a complete rout ensued.

On the day before, sixty horse and foot, belonging to that portion of Marlborough's troops that were quartered in Bandon, met a large body of Rapparees in West Carbery, who followed them, but at such a distance that their fire was ineffectual. The Marlbrooks, however, were more fortunate; for, suddenly facing to the right about and firing a volley, they slew nine. Subsequently, they again faced about; but their united efforts this time only succeeded in bringing down "one Brown, an Irish ensign."

In the next month (December), Mac Fineen escaped from his prison in Cork, and, having collected a party of about four hundred men, marched to Enniskean.*

* Enniskean, so called from Kean Mac Moile More, ancestor of the O'Mahonys. The manor of Enniskean was one of the largest in the county, and contained no less than eighty ploughlands.

Finding this place guarded, they proceeded to Castle-town, where there was a little garrison, consisting of a lieutenant and thirty dragoons, who resolutely defended the place. But, at length, having expended all their ammunition, and five of their number being killed, they surrendered upon quarter; notwithstanding which, their gallant commander was cruelly murdered in cold blood. Major Culliford and his party from Enniskean soon, however, fell in with them, and, ten having been killed and five taken prisoners, the rest made good their escape.

1691.—Colonel Beecher* recaptured a Dutch ship in Bantry Bay, which had been taken by the Irish, thirty-six of whom, in endeavoring to escape from it, were drowned. Of the rest, a large number were made prisoners.

On the 20th of January, a small force, consisting of twenty of the East-Carbery horse and eighteen of the Bandon militia, under the command of Lieutenant Arthur Bernard,† boldly advanced into the enemy's

* Colonel Thomas Beecher, lineally descended from Fane Beecher, the founder of Bandon, was married to a Miss Turner—a native of the town. He was present at the battle of the Boyne, and served there as aide-de-camp to King William, who was so pleased with his services and those of the Bandon volunteers whom he commanded, that he presented him with his own watch upon the field. Colonel Beecher sat for Baltimore in 1692, and retained his seat until 1709, when he died.

† Lieutenant Arthur Bernard (progenitor of the Bernards of Palace Anne) was the only brother of Francis Bernard, who was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas in the reign of Queen Anne. He was born at Castle Mahon in 1666, and married Anne, daughter and heiress of Roger Power, or Le Poer, of Mount Eglantine, county of Waterford, and by whom, in 1714, the family residence was built, and called Palace Anne in compliment to Anne, his wife. In 1697, Mr. Bernard was high sheriff of the county, and again in 1706. He was also provost of his native town in 1718, on which occasion, he gave all the emoluments of his office to a fund then being raised for the repayment of a sum borrowed to pay off a portion of the fine imposed on the Bandonians by General Mac Carthy in 1689. Upon his death, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Roger Bernard, who was succeeded by his only child, Roger Bernard. The latter was High Sheriff of the County of Cork in 1767.

country. To meet this sudden incursion, seven companies of O'Donovan's Irish regiment assembled, and, from their number, one hundred and twenty men were selected to repel the invaders; but the Bandonians, with their usual good fortune, soon drove these off the field, killing a few, and returning in safety with a booty of five hundred sheep, thirteen horses, and fifty cows.

Immediately after this, three hundred men, belonging to Sir David Collier's regiment of foot, marched out of Bandon, and, proceeding in the direction of Bantry, came up with a body of the Irish. These they attacked, killing seventy, and taking fifteen prisoners.

Upon the 11th of April, the Irish, to the number of five hundred, assaulted Clonakilty; but they were driven off by the garrison, which consisted of only fifty dragoons, and twenty-four men belonging to Captain Fenwick's company of foot.

The next day (April 12), eleven hundred of them, under the command of Brigadier Carroll, stormed Enniskean, and burnt it to the ground, with the exception of one house, in which a detachment of Sir David Collier's regiment, consisting of fifty-five men and two officers (Ensigns Lindsey and Daniel), had taken refuge. These shut themselves in, and bravely held out until relief came from Bandon. The first that arrived to their assistance was Major Wade,* with ten

Upon his decease the estates passed to his uncle, Arthur Bernard, who married his cousin, Mary Adderly, great grand-daughter of the lord chief justice (Sir Matthew Hale). Arthur was Provost of Bandon for many years, and died, at an advanced age, in 1793. He was succeeded by his son, Thomas Bernard, who, dying in two years after (1795), bequeathed the estates to Arthur Beamish, the second son of his sister Elizabeth, who was married to Richard Beamish, of Raheroon.

* Major Bryan Wade—subsequently promoted to the rank of colonel—died in 1698, while serving as Provost of Bandon.

of the Bandon militia. This little band, taking advantage of the enemy's confusion, actually forced their way through their very centre, and up through the town—a distance of at least six hundred yards from where they first entered the hostile enclosure. This, however, they could scarcely have done, were it not that the Irish were apprehensive that this little force was but the advanced guard of a much larger one, and which it in reality was; for, soon afterwards, Major Ogilby came up with Colonel Coy's regiment of horse, and followed the flying enemy, seventy-two of whom were slain in the pursuit. Ogilby's arrival was most opportune; for the Irish had piled up fagots about the place to which Collier's detachment had retreated, and, in a short time, the house and the brave little garrison would have been reduced to ashes.

On the 15th of May, the Bandon militia took Captain Hugh Donovan and six of O'Donovan's regiment prisoners, and surprised forty Rapparees in a wood, from whom they took twenty horses and other booty. Lieutenant Moore, with a small detachment of the same corps, killed five of the enemy near Bantry,* and took some cattle; and Cornet Evanson, of the Carbery horse, performed a similar duty with four more.

The Bandon militia were, at this time, of inestimable service both to the government and the western portion of this county. Every man in it was worth, at the least, a dozen ordinary mercenaries; for there was

* Bantry, or Ballygobban—also the Old Town, to distinguish it from another settlement more to the north called New Town, where a fortification, with four regular bastions, was erected by Ireton. The ancient name of Bantry was Bentraighe—a name said by some to be derived from Beant Mac Farriola, a descendant of the O'Donovans and O'Mahonys, but more probably from Ban-Traige, that is, "fair strand;" and by others from the words *bawn* and *traghe*.

scarcely one in the regiment, from the colonel down to the humblest rank and file, that had not some injury to redress, or some foul wrong to avenge. In their ranks, there was many a man who was reduced from comparative opulence to absolute beggary by the raid of a single night; and it can be by no means a difficult task to picture what their feelings must have been when, with averted eye, but clenched teeth, they marched past the blackened ruins of their former homes. They were well acquainted with all the surrounding districts; and there was scarce a cave that could hold a Rapparee, or a hiding-hole where a Tory or a wild goose could be secreted, with which they were not familiar. It is not then to be wondered at that by far the most dangerous, as well as the most implacable, foes the Irish had to encounter here, were their untiring and unrelenting enemies, the Bandon militia.

Owing to the dreadfully disturbed state of the country, Mr. Justice Cox, who had been appointed Governor of the County and City of Cork the month preceding, issued a proclamation "forbidding all Papists of this county to be out of their dwellings from nine at night till five in the morning; or to be found two miles from their places of abode, except in a highway to a market-town, and on market-days; or to conceal arms or ammunition, on pain of being treated as rebels; that hue and cry should be made after murderers and robbers; that all persons should, on their allegiance, enlist themselves into the militia; that none should traffic, correspond with, or send provisions to the enemy, or shelter or entertain Tories, Rapparees, &c.; that no protected person should desert his habitation, or go to the enemy, or otherwise absent himself above

three days, on pain of imprisonment of his wife and family, and the demolishing of his house ;” and, lastly, it pronounced “impartial justice without distinction of nation.”

In June, Enniskean was fortified by order of Governor Cox, and garrisoned by a strong force of the Bandon militia, a detachment of which, under the brave Townsend, marched into the country around Bantry, where they did great execution, killing one hundred Rapparees, and bringing off a large quantity of plunder. Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, in less than a fortnight afterwards, scoured all the country around Bandon, and killed sixty more. In July, five hundred of the militia, under the command of Colonel Beecher, met four hundred Irish near Skibbereen, and soon routed them. In this affair, the Irish also lost sixty men and a great quantity of cattle. In August, Major Fenwick destroyed several Rapparees near Macroom, and a few others as far remote as Minter Borra.

Limerick capitulated. On the 3rd of October, the treaty was signed. It contained no less than forty-two provisions, the most important of which was, permission to the adherents of James to leave not only Limerick, but also the kingdom. They were also allowed to take with them all their chattels, &c. Similar permissions were granted to other garrisons, and to every family that wished to leave Ireland. Transports were to be provided for the removal of their persons and effects ; “and nothing was omitted which could contribute to the safety and convenience of their voyage.”* On the completion of the articles, four thousand five hundred foot marched immediately into Cork, under Sarsfield ;

* *Vide* Mac Geoghegan.

and, after remaining there about a month, they sailed for France, landing at Brest on the 3rd of December, about which time D'Usson and Tesse arrived at the same port with four thousand seven hundred and thirty-six, exclusive of officers, having sailed directly from the Shannon in the transports of the squadron belonging to M. de Château Rénaud. Shortly afterwards, Major-General Wachop left with about three thousand more in English ships; and these were speedily followed by two companies of King James's body-guard.

According to the report of the commissioners, all the Irish troops (officers included) that followed James into France amounted to nineteen thousand and fifty-nine men; but, great as this force may seem, it formed only the nucleus of a still greater. The Irish gentry who had contrived to elude the vigilance of Cromwell, or who had been restored to a portion of their estates by his clemency, were now hopelessly ruined by the forfeitures under William, some idea of the extent of which may be gathered from the fact, that, in this county alone, they amounted to two hundred and forty-four thousand three hundred and twenty acres.* Being stripped of everything they possessed, they had no means of sustaining themselves or their dependents, but by emigration. Where could they turn to? There

* The entire confiscations in Ireland amounted to near one million seven hundred thousand acres, two hundred and ninety-seven houses in Dublin, thirty-six in Cork, and two hundred and twenty-six in other towns; there were also sixty-one mills, twenty-eight patents for fairs and markets, seventy-two rectorships with their tithes and rents, six ferries, and a great number of fisheries; also vast numbers of sheep and cattle, which were only valued at one hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and fifty-two pounds: but they were in reality worth a great deal more, as, in this calculation, a horse was estimated at but twenty shillings, a sheep at two shillings and sixpence, and other animals in the same proportion.

were no transatlantic colonies in those days to extend a helping hand to them ; for those that did exist were peopled by "the accursed Saxon." It is to be deplored, but it is not to be wondered at, that a lingering pang of bitterness still clings around the hearts of their descendants, which many years of conciliatory legislation has not entirely removed. To them Ireland was indeed Ireland no more : the green fields of green Erin, its soft pastures, its leafy woods—yea, the very grass they trod upon—were the spoil of their conquerors. We are not, then, surprised to find that they absolutely rushed from country of their forefathers, in multitudes, to join their relatives and friends in the sanguinary battle-fields of continental Europe, and to serve, it may be but for a campaign, or it may be for a period still less, in the valorous and chivalrous ranks of the old Irish Brigade. So great was the number of these voluntary exiles that left within the next half a century, that it is computed upon calculations made at the French War Office, that, from the landing of James's army in France up to, and including, the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, more than four hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen laid down their lives in the service of France.

A great many Roman Catholics became Protestants about this time. Many of them changed their names altogether ; whilst others retained the Celtic surname, and, by using a Saxon Christian name, or by placing between both the name of some family famed for the advocacy of Protestant principles, endeavored to Anglicize the whole.

CHAPTER XIX.

CAPTAIN JOHN NASH, ALIAS SHANE DEARG—FEARFUL STATE OF THE COUNTRY—OLD NASH'S POLITICAL ECONOMY—A MISTAKE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES—PRIEST-HUNTING—THE BLACK CAT, ETC.

MR. JOHN NASH* (a captain in the Bandon militia) was provost of the town this year (1691). At the period of which we write, the country was in the worst stage of its most deplorable condition. Skirmishing between armed parties, attacks on outposts, and even sieges, were of daily occurrence; whilst so infested was the neighborhood with deserters from Sarsfield's division as it lay awaiting transports in Cork, and Tories, Rapparees, and disbanded desperadoes let loose upon society by the surrender of Limerick, that this district was so unsafe, that life was scarcely valued by its

* Captain Nash was also provost the preceding year (1690) from the 16th of July, when the corporation of James was deposed, and was the provost elect for 1688, but was obliged to give place to Teige Mac Carthy, who produced the new charter, and initiated a new policy. He was subsequently provost in 1703, when Nuce's by-law was revived, and a preamble prefixed, beginning with, "Whereas several Papists and other loose persons have presumed to bring their families into the corporation of Bandon-bridge," &c. In 1711, he again filled the office, again in 1723, and lastly 1724. He took a great interest in the welfare of his native town, and was one of the four who signed the articles of peace on behalf of the Bandonians with General Mac Carthy, upon which occasion he and others made themselves personally responsible for the large sum of money borrowed on account of the town, and for which some had their effects seized, and others were imprisoned. To a fund for the payment of these liabilities, he contributed the emoluments of his provostship more than once. He took a very active part, too, in getting a market-house erected at the south side; and, throughout the entire of the thirty-six years with which he was connected with the corporation, there was no member of it more anxious to promote its success, or increase the prosperity of those entrusted to its care.

possessor, and property was not worth the trouble of protecting it. Should any of the settlers in the rural parts require anything from the neighboring market-town, they should either wait till an armed caravan passed their door, and then join the party themselves, or get some friend amongst them to execute their orders; whilst so afraid were they of their cattle being carried off, that they used to guard them in the fields by day, with their muskets loaded; and, at night, they were safely secured in their own dwelling-houses, the doors being carefully barricaded, and the windows built up, whilst some members of the family watched by turns throughout the night, lest some Rapparee or Tory should covertly make his way through the thatch, or burrow an entrance into the house in some equally uncereemonious manner.

To grapple with this desperate state of things, Captain Nash was—at the suggestion of his fellow-townsmen, Governor Cox—made Chief Magistrate of Bandon, and was by him armed with dictatorial powers. Mr. Nash was not the man to let these powers die through inactivity. He knew that a desperate case required a desperate remedy, and also a determined fellow like himself to carry them out. He set to work in right earnest; and such havoc did he make amongst the outlaws and Rapparees, and such terror did his numerous executions inspire, that an involuntary tremor might even still be perceived creeping over the frame of some of our neighboring peasantry at the very mention of his name. On hearing it, the very children lie still in their cots; and “If you don’t be good, I’ll send for Shane Dearg,” is a threat well known to nurses in a certain district to be more than sufficient

to terrorize the most clamorous baby into silence. He was known amongst the Irish people by a great many names. He was called Ould Jack, Jack the Devil, Hanging Jack, and Ould Nash; but he was most familiarly known as Shane Dearg (pronounced *Shawn Dhorrig*), or Red Jack—red in allusion, probably, to all the blood spilt during his official career.

In these days, there were few gaols, and certainly no reformatories; so that, when a prisoner was brought before a country justice of the peace, there was absolutely no alternative between hanging him and letting him go. Besides, the former presented many advantages to a political economist such as Nash is represented to have been. There would be no necessity for taxing an overtaxed people to build a prison to protect society from him, and him from society; paying a governor to keep house for him; a turnkey to wait on him; a doctor to physic him; a chaplain to minister to him; and a board of superintendence to provide treadmills, pump-handles, oakum, and other such playthings for his amusement. At first, it was customary with Mr. Nash to try the accused, and see if he was really, or even probably, guilty of what he was charged with, as the following will show: A Rapparee that had been captured by a sergeant's guard of the Bandon militia was brought before him. In reply to some queries put to him, the prisoner stated that he was a poor weaver on his way to Bandon in quest of employment. Upon hearing this, one of the guard stepped forward, and said he could prove the accused was no weaver. "Oh, never mind! never mind!" said old Jack, "we'll soon ascertain all about that." Then taking a piece of string from his desk, and walking up to him, "Come, my good

man," said he, "tie a weaver's knot for me with that, and I'll let you go." The unfortunate man was dumb-founded. He was no weaver, and knew nothing about weaver's knots: so he held down his head, and remained silent. Old Nash returned to his desk, and resumed his pen. Some time after, the sergeant, who had made several ineffectual attempts to catch his worship's attention, at last called out in a rather impatient tone, "Well, sir, what am I to do with the prisoner?"—"Oh, hang him!" said he, "take him out of that, and don't bother me with him!" The sergeant possibly misunderstood him. However, true to the letter of his instructions, he did take him out of that, and hanged him accordingly. The place of execution at that time was North Gate, from a beam across the archway of which the condemned underwent their doom. On the very next morning, his worship was out taking his customary walk, and, happening to pass through North Gate, observed the body of the Rapparee suspended from the fatal beam. "Gatekeeper!" shouted he, "who is that fellow, and what brought him there?" The gatekeeper explained that he was the man who had been hanged the evening before by his orders. He paused for awhile, in all likelihood reflecting upon the dreadful mistake that had been committed. "Well, well," said he, "if he didn't deserve it this time, he probably did at another." He then quietly resumed his walk.

Whether it was owing to the numbers of these miserable men that were daily brought before him (all of whom were unhesitatingly sent to North Gate), or whether it was that he was anxious to extirpate, as far as in him lay, the entire race to which they belonged,

we know not; but certain it is, that he soon dispensed with even the form of a trial. A man was brought before him on one occasion, just as he was about sitting down to dinner. "Is this a Rapp?" quoth old Jack to the non-commissioned officer in charge. "Yes, sir," was the reply. "Well, then," said he, "you can hang him now; and, by the time you think dinner is over, come back, and I'll enter into particulars." In these two instances, however, the persons were accused of being Rapparees; but in the following one the unfortunate man was not even guilty of being accused. He was put to death, not for what he did, but for what he might, could, or would have done, were he even out of temper afterwards. Being out one day, with a detachment of the militia, Nash overtook a fine handsome young man walking along the road. "Take that fellow up," cried Jack, "and hang him;" pensively remarking, "If that chap was vexed, he could do mischief." The unfortunate man was instantly arrested, marched into Bandon, and hanged that same evening at North Gate.* He even had the temerity to hang a priest (Father Sheehan)—a piece of indiscretion, we need scarcely say, which no statesman of our day would have the hardihood to attempt; and so anxious was he lest, by any means, he should be baulked of his clerical prey, that he did not even wait until he would arrive at his favorite North Gate, but hung him up at the very first cross-road he came upon. Such terror prevailed amongst the class to whose radical reformation the ministerial labors of old Nash were devoted, that, when any of them were captured, their first inquiry was before whom

* Previous to his execution, however, the prisoner admitted he had been a soldier, and as such served within the walls of Limerick.

they were to be brought; and, on learning it was Shane Dearg, "Oh, may the Lord have mercy on us now!" was the usual exclamation of these unhappy men, well knowing that, when brought before him, their existence in this world might be computed by the time they occupied in marching from his worship's presence to the gallows.

Incredible as these stories may appear, yet they are devoutly believed in this locality; and we have heard them from such a variety of sources, all corroborating each other by abundant testimony in every particular, that we have no doubt whatever as to their truth. The peasantry in the neighborhood, to this day, believe that he was capable of any atrocity. Not long ago, we encountered an old fellow, who was sunning himself by a ditch on the road-side; and, having heard that he knew a great deal about the old people, we were very glad to make his acquaintance. After a few queries as to our old friend's health, the prospects of the approaching harvest, &c., we proceeded to business. "Tim," we inquired, "did you ever hear of Shane Dearg?"—"Oh!" cried Tim, rousing himself out of the state of somnolency we found him in, and looking all attention, "is that the fellow that used to hang all the people long ago?" We replied that it was. "Wisha, by gonnies!" said he, "I did so!" We then asked him why it was he used to hang all the people. "By gor!" said he, "for being Papists." We could not help reflecting on the enormity of hanging a poor fellow because he could only believe up to the orthodox figure, and no farther. However, we continued: "But suppose the man said he was no Papist." Here we thought we had Tim in a fix. "Och, by gorra!"

said our old friend, "that wouldn't do him either; for then he'd have him hanged for telling a lie."

The apparent necessity for such severe measures having passed away, and every disaffected person being either hanged off or otherwise accounted for, old Jack turned his attention to the no less secular, but yet more irreverent, pursuit of priest-hunting. By an act of the Irish Parliament, it was ordered that the Roman Catholic clergy should appear before the authorities at stated times, and have their names and residences duly registered; whilst those that refused to comply were proclaimed, and rewards offered for their apprehension.* In these pastoral pursuits, Red Jack was one of the most successful sportsmen of the day. The clergy had no followers that more closely adhered to them. He was always at their heels; and there was scarcely a day that he did not pounce upon a sacerdotal delinquent, either catching him before he broke cover from the sheltering roof of some poor peasant, who probably risked his life to give him a night's lodging, or else running him right down through sheer exhaustion. At all events, he was scarcely ever without a priest or two to his credit. He was, at last, however, cured of this propensity of clinging to the skirts of the clergy in a manner so singular and so efficacious, that not only did he give up hunting priests, but he absolutely used to secrete them in his own house. He asked a large party to dinner one day, amongst whom were some of the neighboring gentry, several Protestant clergymen, and a poor priest (then in his safe custody) to whom a good dinner in those bad times was a great rarity.

* One hundred pounds were offered for the apprehension of a bishop or priest, and prosecuting same for saying mass, &c.

After the covers were removed, the host commenced carving the leg of mutton which lay before him, and soon threw a piece to a large black tom-cat that had taken his accustomed seat by his master's side. His reverence, happening to look that way, caught Pussy's eye. "Holy Moses!" said he, "look at the cat!" and immediately arose from the table, telling his host, at the same time, that he must excuse his remaining there any longer. The guests were greatly amazed, and anxiously inquired of each other what the matter was. "Oh! that hell-cat!" cried the priest, looking daggers at Tom. "Why, man," said Mr. Nash, in a soothing and conciliatory tone, "that cat is domesticated in the family these many years, and he is very fond of me."—"I don't wonder at him being fond of you," quoth his reverence, "for a good right he has;" deliberately adding, "I assert that cat to be none other than the Devil." At this old Nash got very wroth, and, after swearing a great deal, concluded by telling his reverence he would make him prove what he had stated. "That I will readily do," said the latter, "and in a very short time, too, if you will permit me to send for my stole and books." This was assented to; and the messenger having speedily returned with the necessary articles, his reverence put on his vestments, and began to read. As he did, the cat began to swell. The priest read on, and the cat swelled on, until at last black Tom got as large as a two-year old heifer, and then, at a sign from the priest, suddenly appeared in his own proper person. There could be no mistake about him: old Clooty was there, with his orthodox appendages *in extremis*. There were his horns, tail, and cloven foot. The priest then, in order to afford the company a better opportunity of

inspecting the latter, ordered him up on the table, and made him show his hoof all round. The Devil most uncourteously took advantage of his elevation, and gave all the company a long lecture upon the evils arising from heresy and schism; but, addressing himself particularly to the clergymen present, he told them, that, as regarded the high-church party, he would not say a word against them, as he could see little difference between them and the real clergy; but, as for those low-church fellows and those vagabond Puritans, if ever any of them were sent to his dominions, he would — Here he became so excited, that the good priest interfered, and changed the subject. He then went through a variety of interesting manœuvres, and concluded by speaking in seven different tongues, and displaying a proficiency in the acquisition of ancient and modern languages truly wonderful. “Wisha, Puss!” said old Nash, who could scarcely persuade himself that his old favorite was in reality the dreaded personage he now seemed to be, “is it possible you are the Devil?” — “Wisha, by jabbers!” said Puss, scratching his head, and familiarly addressing his old master, “There’s no use in denying it any longer, Shane Dearn,” says he: “I am.” Old Jack made a rush at him; and, if he could have only laid hands on him, North Gate would have been his inevitable doom. Being unable to catch him, he could only vent his vengeance in abuse, which he did unsparingly, and with a right good will; but the Devil was more than his match. He scolded him horribly in return, and, after hurling at him all the obnoxious terms he was master of, he concluded by telling him that he was as cruel as Nero, not a bit better than Cromwell, and almost as bad as an attorney.

Mr. Nash, of course, was terribly annoyed, and obliged to seek the assistance of the priest to have him removed. His reverence assented; and black Tom was ordered not only to quit the house, but the parish, and never to set his foot within its precincts again. He obeyed, and instantly rushing up the chimney in a volume of smoke, like Luther, he disappeared. So pleased were all the company with the forbearance and kindness of the poor priest, that a subscription was immediately entered into for putting a roof upon his chapel at M——; whilst so grateful was old Nash, that he vowed there and then, before them all, that he would never raise his finger, or say an angry word, to a priest again.

We by no means wish to be considered as guaranteeing the authenticity of this last story; but we might just as well think of denying the infallibility of the pope, as to appear for one moment to doubt its truth. The peasantry in our neighborhood believe every word of it devoutly; and they would look with no small share of mistrust upon any one who would hesitate to give it full credence. After giving up priest-hunting, old Jack took to the less arduous duty of burning houses. It was enjoined on all people to be in their dwelling-houses from nine at night until five in the morning, or, if not found within or a satisfactory reason assigned for their absence, they were themselves liable to be punished, and their houses burnt. It was often very difficult to catch the offenders, but their houses were always to be found; and, although in our day it would seem a burning shame to set fire to a poor man's house for almost any offence, yet old Nash made light enough of it. Whilst on one of these fiery excursions, he saw a poor peasant digging potatoes in a field adjoining the road.

He called the man to him; and, seeing he had on a new sheepskin breeches, he ordered him to take it off, and exchange it for an old broken one with one of his party. "Now, Dermod," said he, "you can keep that well aired garment; for you looked so overheated in the other, I was greatly afraid lest you would catch cold."

There are numberless other stories floating about in our neighborhood; but we think we have given sufficient to show the exceptional man, which exceptional times, may be expected to produce. He died in 1725, and in the seventy-fifth year of his age; and so much was he detested by his Irish enemies, that their malignity followed him even beyond the grave. It was reported, and currently believed even still, that, after death, he went to a certain place; and the Devil, seeing him approach, cried out to some of his imps, "Run! run! heap more coals on the fire. Here's old Nash." His friends were afraid to inter him in the family burial-grounds at Brinny, lest his remains should be exhumed by the country people, and dishonored. Accordingly, he was buried in Bandon; and underneath an almost illegible tombstone, and a few feet outside the large window of the southern transept of Kilbrogan Church, repose all that is mortal of the celebrated and notorious Shane Dearg.

CHAPTER XX.

PEACE PROCLAIMED—MORE SETTLERS IN BANDON—OUR NEW REPRESENTATIVES—HOW THE BANDON CORPORATION SERVED AN ABUSIVE ATTORNEY—ANOTHER NEW PARLIAMENT—THE PETITION OF THE BANDONIANS RELATIVE TO THE SIEGE OF THE TOWN—THE COMMITTEE TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED—THEIR REPORT—BACHELORS TAXED—THE FORFEITED ESTATES BROUGHT TO THE HAMMER—MANY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY EMIGRATE—LAST MOMENTS OF JAMES II.—BY-LAW OF THE BANDON CORPORATION TO PREVENT IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS FROM LIVING WITHIN THE TOWN OR ITS LIBERTIES—ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE.

ON the 23rd of March, 1692, a proclamation was issued, declaring the war to be at an end. This was just twenty-two months from William's landing at Carrikerfergus. The insurrection in the time of Elizabeth lasted fifteen years, and the great rebellion in 1641 took no less than twelve years for its total suppression; and yet this was more extensive than either of the others, the Irish having possession of cities such as Cork and Dublin, and forts and garrisons which they never once occupied in the great event last alluded to. A great many of those that fought in the last campaign under William, settled in and about Bandon, amongst whom were Captain William Scott,* who commanded a troop in one of William's horse regiments at the Boyne, Hornibrook, Swanton, &c. We had many foreigners here, also. The Garretts, De Ruyters, and Minhears came from Holland; and the Beaumonts, Willises, and Barthers were Huguenot colonists, all the way from the sunny banks of the Loire.

* The Bandon and Queenstown families of this name are descended from that gentleman.

On the 5th of October, a new Parliament assembled at Chichester House, Dublin. The members for Randon were Sir William Moore, Rosscarbery; Edward Riggs, Esq., Riggsdale. Of our senior member, we can discover nothing, save that he obtained permission from the house to go into the country on urgent private affairs; and, of our junior member, we scarcely know anything more, except that he sat on a Committee of Grievances with Sir Percy Freke, Francis Bernard, Captain William Shaw, Colonel Hassett, and several others. There were only three or four acts passed this inactive session; and even these were of no importance.

1693.—On the 28th of February, Tom Dennis (an attorney practising in the corporation court) was not only prohibited from again appearing before said court, but “was also committed to gaol for evil words spoken.” From all we can gather from the manuscripts on this matter, it seems that Tom had a most outrageous temper. For aught we know, he might have been stung into a fury by the opposite solicitor; perhaps taunted with talking nonsense by the bench; or so inflated with such illusory notions of his own greatness as to forget his duty to his betters. Be that as it may, he attacked Mr. James Dixon (one of the burgesses) in open court, and called him “an old rogue, an old knave, and an old rascal; and, were it not for his gray hairs, that he (the said Tom Dennis) said he would break his (the said old Dixon’s) pate.” Of course, such evil words, even from an attorney, could not be endured for a moment, particularly as they were addressed to one of the most honorable dignitaries of the judicial seat. Accordingly, the provost, free burgesses, and commonalty assembled in solemn conclave, and, by mutual assent and

consent, put Tom out of court and into the marshalsea.

1694.—A party of about forty Tories, under the command of Dermot O'Leary, attacked Skibbereen;* and, having killed two revenue officers, they plundered the custom-house.

The Rev. Daniel Lord was admitted Incumbent of Christ Church, Kilbrogan, in place of the Rev. George Synge, deceased.

1695.—A new Parliament assembled in Dublin on the 27th of August. Our Bandon representatives were Edward Riggs, Esq., Riggsdale; Francis Bernard, Esq., Castle Mahon. There was a great number of bills and petitions introduced during the several sessions through which this Parliament extended, amongst which were :

A bill for taking away the writ *de heretico comburendo*.

A bill to fix the value of brass money at the time same was borrowed during the late troubles.

The petition of Margaret Maxwell, a poor distressed widow, on behalf of herself and four small children, praying the house would take her sad and deplorable condition into consideration; her husband being tried and executed for treason in the late King James's government, for no other reason but for endeavoring, with others, to defend themselves against the Rapparees.

The petition of Folliott Sherighly, praying the house to consider the services done by him in securing the muster-roll and books of entry of the Irish army, after the rout at the Boyne, whereby the commanding officers who served in the Irish army were known and outlawed.

A bill to prevent Protestants turning Papists, or intermarrying with them.

A bill to prevent Papists become solicitors.†

* Skibbereen was anciently called Stapleton. It was at one time a part of the domain of the Castle of Gortnaclough, belonging to the Mac Carthy Reaghs of Kilbrittain.

† We presume this was intended as an act of clemency by the executive, and as a salve for the intolerance of the previous measure.

A petition from the inhabitants of the town of Bandon, setting forth, "That they disarmed the garrison of Bandon, and seized upon the town for his majesty's service; and that afterwards, being overpowered by Major-General Mac Carthy and twelve thousand Irish, they were forced to ransom ten of the principal townsmen from execution by compounding for fifteen hundred pounds, which they borrowed from English merchants at Cork, who had lately sued out execution against the petitioners for three thousand pounds, principal and interest, to their inevitable ruin, unless relieved by the house, &c. They therefore prayed, that the lord deputy should be asked to intercede for them with his majesty for a grant of some portion of the Earl of Clancarthy's estate, as a recompense for their services and sufferings in the late troubles."

There was also a petition from Robert White, stating, "That he was one of the persons, who became bound for eight hundred pounds of the money borrowed for the said town of Bandon, and that his whole substance hath been taken in execution for same; and praying that his deplorable condition be taken into consideration."

These last two petitions were referred to a committee consisting of the following members:

Mr. Waller,	Sir Francis Blundell,
Sir John Meade,	Mr. Robert Rogers,
Mr. Solicitor General,	Mr. George Rogers,
Mr. Bernard,	Mr. Richardson,
Colonel Beecher,	Sir St. John Broderick,
Mr. Riggs,	Colonel Purcell.

The committee, after hearing evidence, made a report, which was brought up by Sir St. John Broderick. It declared, "That they were fully satisfied that the suffering inhabitants of the town of Bandon appeared very early in defence of his majesty and the Protestant interest in this kingdom, and disarmed a garrison of Irish, consisting of two companies of foot and one troop of horse; but being besieged by a body of Irish rebels, consisting of twelve thousand men, under Mac Carthy and the Earl of Clancarthy, they were forced to pay

fifteen hundred pounds for the preservation of themselves and the said town from fire; that the committee, being desirous to preserve and encourage all those that appeared so early and so vigorous in so good a cause, recommended that the aforesaid debt, principal and interest, be satisfied out of the Earl of Clancarthy's estate, or some other part of the forfeitures in Muskerry, or otherwise as his majesty see fit." Upon the report being read, the house passed a series of resolutions, and directed our junior member, Mr. Francis Bernard, to introduce a bill founded upon them. Mr. Bernard did so, and faithfully performed his task. We find him hurrying the matter through the various stages necessary for its completion, and, when finished, waiting on their excellencies, the lords justices, urging that the bill be at once sent to England to obtain the royal assent, and thus afford speedy relief to his loyal constituents. The only part of the committee's report which the house did not adopt, was that portion recommending that the money should be raised off some of the Muskerry forfeitures.* The house preferred that the sum should be raised off the province of Munster, which was done accordingly, as follows:

County and City of Cork . . .	£889	7	0
County of Limerick . . .	282	5	6
City of County of Limerick . . .	55	18	6
County of Clare . . .	363	0	0
County of Kerry . . .	153	15	0
County of Tipperary . . .	615	0	0
County of Waterford . . .	184	15	6
County of City of Waterford . . .	55	18	6

There were three trustees appointed for disposing of the

* The reason of this probably was because attempts were then being made to induce William to restore Clancarthy to the possession of his estates.

money for the benefit of the Bandon people, "as may seem desirable to them." These were the lord high treasurer (Viscount Dungarvan), Mr. Riggs, and Mr. Bernard.

A petition was presented for dividing the county of Cork into two counties, upon which a motion was made, "That the petition now presented be received." This was, however, negatived on a division.

Bachelors were taxed this year. We really hope some member of our legislature will introduce a measure on the all-important subject of bachelor taxation. Of what earthly use is a bachelor? He does not help to increase the subjects of our gracious queen, as all good people feel in duty bound to do, and thereby produce additional consumers of the various exciseable articles in daily use, and in this way contribute his share towards the relief of the state, and towards paying the very policeman that interposes his baton between him and the honest indignation of the fair sex. Although we approve of the principle of free trade, and will candidly admit that every man ought to be allowed to dispose of himself in whatever way he may deem fit, yet there are exceptional cases; and, where legislative interference amounts to a positive necessity. Why should the executive, which we entrust with unlimited powers for increasing the weal of our fellow-countrymen, suffer any of them to be dismally moping their way through the streets, with their coats buttoned, probably, over their buttonless shirts, and their cold blue noses and lustreless eyes turned up to the wet clouds, as if they—wretched outcasts!—expected to find sympathy there, when they may have a comfortable wife for the asking, and, in due course, if any of them has only ordinary

luck, may have a dozen or so of interesting little children, all striving, perhaps, at the same time to make a horse of his paternal knee, and running up weekly bills for edibles, clothes, boots, shoes, pinafores, &c., that would do any parent's eyes good to behold? We would undoubtedly place a confiscating tax upon all such odd and singular fellows, and would consider ourselves amply borne out by the jurisprudence of our own day. Have we not an act on the Statute Book interfering with the liberty of the subject, and that to such an extent as to impose fine and imprisonment upon him for attempting to terminate his miseries and his existence at the same time? And yet no one cries out against it. If, then, the legislature is justified in interfering to keep a man miserable, how much the more is it justified in laying hold of the wretch by the collar, shaking all the crumbs of bread and bits of string out of his pocket, and say, "Sir, you must, you shall, we'll force you to be happy!"

A great portion of the confiscated estates were sold during this and the next dozen years. Sad complaints were made by the commissioners sent over by the English Parliament to take cognizance of the properties that were confiscated, upon those who were concerned in the late rebellion. In their report, they state, "That several obscure persons, who possessed no property when Ireland was reduced, are at present masters of large estates; that it was impossible they could have acquired them without seizing on confiscated lands either by intrigue or collusion, from which they have acquired considerable advantages, while the king was defrauded; that his majesty has been frequently deceived in the value of the grants which he has bestowed;

that nothing seems to have contributed more to this abuse than the sale of confiscated lands by auction in the city of Dublin exclusively, instead of in the chief towns of the counties in which they were situate; that few people took the trouble of coming to the capital from the provinces, at a heavy expense, and of neglecting their domestic affairs, when they felt persuaded that the agents of men in office would prevail against them, and knowing that these would have the countenance of his majesty; that when they had succeeded, by their haughtiness and power, in removing all competition, they placed their rates on the estates they were desirous of having, and gave whatever price they pleased, by an understanding not to oppose each other, of which the following is a proof: Thomas Broderick and William Connolly, who acquired vast estates, and who were partly masters of these auctions—no one having confidence to enter into competition with them—have been partners in all the lands they obtained during 1695 and the following years. They have since set them in farms, to greater advantage than they had been before. It must be observed that their conduct appeared very extraordinary, particularly that of Mr. Broderick, who was a privy councillor, and put in nomination by Lord Capel for the office of Inspector of Auctions, though he was well aware of the abuses he had been guilty of.”* Such confusion prevailed, that many of those that had confiscated estates bestowed on them were unable to tell where they lay, and were under the necessity of advertising in the local newspapers, and holding out inducements—in some instances amounting to one-fourth of the entire grants—in order to induce some one to point out the promised land.

* See Mac Geoghan.

1696.—The townsmen of Youghal, having fitted out a little vessel, with about forty seamen and soldiers, captured a French privateer that lay at anchor at Cable Island. The French had five men killed—including the captain, Pat Comerford, the lieutenant—and sixteen wounded.

1697.—The West India fleet put into Kinsale harbor, under convoy of the "Swan" and "Thunderbolt."

The "Loo," man-of-war, was lost, this year, in Baltimore harbor, by running on a rock. All the men and guns were saved.

Arthur Bernard, brother of our junior representative, filled the office of High Sheriff of the County this year.

The Quakers were at this time pretty numerous in Bandon. We have seen an interesting relic of their connection with the town in this year—to wit, a marriage certificate; and, as we are aware that anything connected with this respectable body, during their residence here, will prove attractive to our local readers, we readily lay it before them:

"SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

"John Ferishe was born the sixteenth day of ninth month, 1676, in ye town of Malverton, Somerset, England. Joan Taylor, his wife, was born ye tenth day of eleventh month, 1674, in ye town of Banbury, Devonshire. They were married in ye Friends' Meeting House, at Bandon, the twenty-fourth day of sixth month, 1697."

1698.—The Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Galway, lords justices, arrived in Cork, where they were received by the bishops, clergy, mayor, and corporation, with all due ceremony. They also visited Kinsale, where they reviewed Sir Matthew Bridger's regiment of foot. At this time there were only one hundred

Catholic clergymen in the county and city of Cork ; and, of these same, before the expiration of the year, seventy-five emigrated, all their expenses being kindly defrayed by the government.

1699.—The English parliament passed an act to prohibit the exportation of woollen goods from Ireland, not only to England but even to any of the colonies, and by this means gave a blow to the manufacture of woollen fabrics here from which it has never recovered.

Francis Viscount Shannon,* fourth son of the great Earl of Cork, died this year. This nobleman distinguished himself at the battle of Liscarroll, in 1642, on which occasion he nearly lost his life, in rescuing the body and charger of his brother, Lord Kinalmeaky, the first Governor of Bandon.

1700.—King James II. died at St. Germain's, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. A very interesting account of the last scene of all in James's strange and eventful history, is given by Miss Strickland, from which we subjoin the following: "A little before his death, the great Louis XIV., being desirous of doing everything likely to alleviate the queen's affliction, proceeded with her to King James's chamber. Life was so far spent with that prince, that he was not aware of the entrance of his august visitor ; and, when Louis inquired after his health, he made no answer, for he neither saw nor heard him. When one of his attendants roused him up from the drowsy stupor in which he lay, to tell him that the King of France was there, he unclosed his eyes with a painful effort, and said, 'Where is he?' 'Sir,' replied Louis, 'I am here, and am come

* He was created Viscount Shannon in 1660. This title expired with his grandson ; but, in 1756, it was conferred upon Henry Boyle, Esq., of Castlemartyr, who was grandson of Lord Broghile, the first Earl of Orrery.

to see how you do.' 'I am going,' said James, quietly, 'to pay that debt which must be paid by kings as well as by the meanest of their subjects. I give your majesty my dying thanks for all your kindness to me, and my afflicted family, and do not doubt of your countenance, having always found you good and generous.' He took leave of his queen with great firmness, and the lamentation of his afflicted princess did not shake him. He told her to restrain her tears. 'Reflect,' said he to her, 'that I am going to be happy, and for ever.' "

The value of the exports this year, from Great Britain, amounted to seven million three hundred and two thousand seven hundred and sixteen pounds; and the imports to five million nine hundred and seventy thousand one hundred and seventy-five pounds, leaving a balance in favor of England of nearly one-fifth.

1702.—Captain Nash (Shane Dearg) became Provost for the third time.

Newce's by-law, prohibiting Roman Catholics from following any occupation, in the town, or even living there, was amplified and revived this year. This interesting relic of the policy pursued when political and religious animosities filled the contending parties with a rancour so fierce that it was implacable, and created a thirst for vengeance in either side, which nothing but the utter prostration of its opponent could appease, is now, for the first time, given to the public:

BOROUGH OF } "At a general assembly of the provost, free-
BANDON-BRIDGE. } burgesses, and commonalty, met together in
the Tholsel or Court House, situate on the south side of the
said borough, the fourth day of February, instant, An^o Domini,
1703. After debate had between them, concerning the removing
of all Irish Papists out of the said borough and liberties
thereof, it was, by the general and mutual assent and consent

of the said provost, free-burgesses, and commonalty, consented and agreed upon in manner and form following (that is to say) —That we, the provost, free-burgesses, and commonalty of this borough, being very sensible that it has been, time out of mind, a custom within the borough that no Irish Papist should inhabit within the liberties thereof; yet, notwithstanding, there has of late several such Irish Papists crept in, and do still inhabit within the liberty of this borough. For remedy whereof, we, the said provost, free-burgesses, and commonalty do resume our ancient privilege, and make it a by-law: That if any Irish Papists, now inhabiting within the liberties of this borough, being warned to depart and remove out of the said liberties aforesaid, upon pain of forfeiting whatsoever the present provost shall think fit, provided it be under three pounds six shillings and eight pence (£3 6s. 8d.) sterling, he, or they, or any, or all of them, having first due notice given them, and a time to remove not exceeding ten days after such notice. And, if any one of them shall, after such due notice given as aforesaid, to the same aforesaid, presume to remain and inhabit within this borough, that then their goods shall be answerable to pay any such sum as shall by the provost be laid on him, or them, for his, or their contempt; which said sum or sums, so levied, shall be for the use of the said corporation, to be laid out as the said provost shall see occasion. And, if for the future, any, who is or shall become a freeman of this borough, shall let or set a house, or houses, to any such said Irish Papists, within the liberties aforesaid, any such freeman shall forfeit three pounds six shillings and eight pence sterling, to be levied by order of the provost for the time being, when any freeman shall presume to set or let a house to any such Irish Papists, and being so levied shall be for the use of the corporation. And, if any one who is a freeman of the said borough, that shall or will oppose the turning out of any such said Irish Papists out of the liberties thereof, according to the ancient custom aforesaid, and will refuse to join in turning out the said Irish Papists, or any of them, shall be thought and looked upon as enemies to the borough, and for ever be adjudged incapable of being either provost, burgess, or freeman of the commonalty within the borough of Bandon-bridge, as aforesaid."

By way of giving this additional significance, the following was added :

"The contents of the within by-law is the full and general assent and consent of the whole court assembled this fourth day of February, An^o Domi 1703, to which they have subscribed their names as followeth. And, further, that this by-law be, by counsel-at-law, put into due form of law.

COMMON COUNSEL.	BURGESSES.
Samuel Browne.	James Dixon.
Isaac Browne.	Christopher Grinway.
Andrew Langton.	Thomas Polden.
Abraham Savage.	Saul Bruce.
Attiwell Wood.	James Martin.
Thomas Linscom:	William Bull.
Daniel Conner.	John Nash, <i>Provost.</i> "
James Rice.	
Richard Willoe.	
Edward Millington.	

All the members of the corporation present signed the above document, with two exceptions—William Bull and Abraham Batten; and, so indignant were the provost, free-burgesses, and commonalty with them, "for wilfully refusing" to affix their names to the by-law, that a court immediately sat to expel them.

William III. died on the 8th of March. He was succeeded by Anne, second daughter of James, by his first wife, who was daughter of Lord Chancellor Hyde.

It is related of the latter that, when a poor briefless barrister, he was consulted one morning by a pretty and well-to-do looking widow. She told him her history: A few short years before, she was a little servant girl in a neighboring public house, and used to carry round the beer-can every day, to supply those customers who preferred being served at their own houses. Meanwhile, her mistress died, and her master, noticing the diligence and attention with which she discharged the various duties of her humble calling, resolved on making her his wife, which he accordingly did. He did not survive this event

very long, and died, leaving his widow in very comfortable circumstances. She was under the necessity of consulting a lawyer about her affairs, and hearing that one lived in the neighborhood, she came to him. He examined the various documents laid before him; and finding that money matters were to his liking, and being also instructed that the spruce widow, who had just been released a *vinculo matrimonii*, had no objection to shackle herself again, he boldly moved for an attachment. She, nothing loath, favorably entertained his courtly application. She did not oppose the motion, but replied as is customary on those occasions, and, in due time, the barrister and the bar-maid were happily married. Mr. Hyde afterwards attained to the summit of his profession; he became a Peer of the Realm, and Lord High Chancellor of England. The poor public-house servant girl rose with him; she became a Peeress of Great Britain, the mother-in-law of a king, and the grandmother of two queens of England.

1703.—A new Parliament assembled in Dublin. The representatives for Bandon were Francis Bernard, Castle Mahon; Colonel Richard Georges, Kilbrew, Meath.* Both our representatives served on a great many committees, and were two of the most active members of the house. The importance of encouraging trade, and developing the resources of the country, seems to have specially engaged the attention of this legislature. Amongst the various measures introduced with this intent were:

A bill to encourage the making of earthenware in this kingdom.

* Colonel Georges subsequently became a lieutenant-general, and was for a long time quarter-master of the army in Ireland. In this parliament he was elected for Ratoath and Coleraine, as well as for Bandon, but referred to sit for the last.

To encourage the importation of iron and staves.

To prevent destroying the fry of herring, salmon, pilchard, and other fish.

To oblige all persons in this kingdom to bury in woollen garments.

And one for improving the hempen and flaxen manufactures in this kingdom.

There were a number of petitions presented, with various objects in view. There was one from the sovereign burgesses and commonalty of Kinsale, praying "That the lighthouse at the Old Head, near Kinsale, may have light continued in it as formerly." From the poor people of the Baronies of Muskerry, complaining that the high and petty constables of said baronies made them pay twice over the taxes laid upon them. And, one from a number of young gentlemen, complaining "of the several frauds and abuses committed on them by one Timothy Salter, who keeps the Royal Oak Lottery."

Our senior member, Mr. Francis Bernard—at this time a lawyer in very extensive practice—bought largely of estates forfeited and otherwise circumstanced. In the very last session of this parliament, we find reference to one of his purchases. It is entitled "An Act to vest the inheritance of certain lands in the Barony of Ibane and Barryroe, in the County of Cork, in Francis Bernard, Esq., and his heirs; and to vest certain terms for years, in the said lands, in Stephen and Peter Ludlow, Esqrs., respectively, in trust for said Francis Bernard, pursuant to an agreement made between said Francis Bernard and William Pen (senior) and William Pen (junior), Esqrs., for the purchase of said lands."

Gibraltar was taken this year. A Bandon man, Captain Jumper, was one of the two first that effected

an entrance into that celebrated fortress ; upon which occasion, in conjunction with Captain Hicks, he contributed, much by his undaunted bravery and presence of mind, to the successful result. Battery No. 6 is even yet known as " Jumper's Battery," in compliment to our gallant townsman. He was born in Bridge Street, in a house that one time occupied the site where Mrs. Bright's boot and shoe establishment now stands. At this time Bandon might well be proud of her sons. She could point triumphantly to Cox, the lord chancellor and historian ; Bernard, the senator and lawyer ; Brady, the divine ; and Jumper, the daring soldier ; and, we venture to say that throughout the entire of Queen Anne's dominions, there was not a town more conspicuous for its loyalty, or more sincere in its professions of it than our own.

1704.—In pursuance of an Act of Parliament, the Roman Catholic clergy throughout Ireland were registered. They amounted to one thousand and eighty ; of these, sixty-two belonged to the county and city of Cork.

The Rev. Solomon Foley, M.A., was admitted Incumbent of Christ Church, Kilbrogan.

1705.—Alderman James French, of the city of Cork, left one pound per annum to the poor of Kilbrogan, out of the holding known as French's Slip, in the city of Cork.

1708.—The price of firkin butter in Cork, at this time, was only three pence per pound, or twenty-eight shillings per cwt.

1710.—This year, the last presentment for killing wolves was made in this county.

On Christmas day, six hundred French prisoners were shipped off from Kinsale to St. Maloes.

1712.—On Wednesday, the 7th of May, Mary Earberry, after being first half hanged, was burned at Gallows Green, in Cork, for poisoning her husband, Daniel Earberry, a tallow chandler in Paul Street. The crime for which she suffered was called petty treason.

1713.—At the general quarter sessions, held at Bandon, for the county, on the 12th of January, an address was voted to the queen's most excellent majesty, as follows: "We, your majesty's subjects of the county, most humbly beg leave to approach your royal person, &c." It then went on to congratulate her on the safe and honorable peace which her majesty had obtained for the relief and comfort of the people. Also, "that we are thankful to God for the late blessings of the late happy revolution, and are firmly resolved to stand by the succession in the illustrious House of Hanover. So, we do not think the remembrance of the one, or the prospect of the other, any motives to abate our duty and allegiance; and, we hope that neither Popery or seclusion can prevail with any other of your majesty's subjects to abet or assist any pretender to your majesty's crown and kingdom, and to disturb or elude your legal successors." This address was signed by the high sheriff, Richard Cox, Esq., Dunmanway; many justices of the peace, Protestant clergymen, grand jurors, &c.

1714.—Robert Long, a deaf mute, was born in Bandon. By persevering industry, and a little assistance, he acquired considerable knowledge of some branches of mathematics. He was well acquainted with the principles of astronomy; he could even calculate eclipses, make globes, maps, &c. A wheel barometer of his manufacture was shown, and also some tables for calculating the motions of the planets.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PROVOST OF BANDON COMPLAINED TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT—
CASTLE-BERNARD IN 1715—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THOMAS
WIGHT THE AUTHOR OF THE FIRST HISTORY OF THE IRISH
QUAKERS—THE RETURN OF TWO REPRESENTATIVES FOR BANDON
DECLARED NULL AND VOID—THE QUAKERS MEETING HOUSE ERECTED
—A TURK, A JEW, OR AN ATHEIST—NO. 84, OR THE ANTIENT
BOYNE—THE GREAT FROST.

CONSEQUENT upon the death of Queen Anne (1715) a new Parliament was assembled in Dublin. The members for Bandon were, Francis Bernard, Castle-Mahon, Solicitor Generalis, and Martin Bladen, Albury Hatch, Essex, (Mr. Secretary Bladen.) Immediately on the sitting of the house, a complaint was made that Richard Croker, High Sheriff of the county of Cork, did not make a return in due time of the members elected to serve for the Borough of Bandon-bridge. Mr. Croker replied that he was unable to attend in Bandon owing to indisposition, but that he had sent his Sub-Sheriff in due time to Mr. James Jackson, the Provost of said town, for the indenture and return, and that the said Provost had been negligent in not returning the same. Upon this Mr. Jackson was immediately ordered to attend at the bar of the house on a certain day "touching the complaint of the High Sheriff," and being duly in attendance and sworn, made an explanation which was considered so unsatisfactory, that it was proposed "that James Jackson be taken into the custody of the sergeant of arms;" this, we are happy to say, was lost on a division.

Nothing of importance occupied the attention of this Parliament.

On the 11th of June the battle of Glanmire, as it was called, was fought. It was occasioned by the soldiers of the regiment that lay in the old barracks turning out for their arrears of pay. They marched up Lower Glasheen with drums beating, and colors flying; and having crossed the Lee, they encamped in a field belonging to one Peter Healy, at the foot of Dublin hill, where they remained a few days, and then proceeded to Glanmire. At this place they were attacked by a regiment that luckily had landed that morning at the Cove of Cork, with two brass field pieces. The mutineers made a stand at the further side of the bridge, headed by a Dutchman named John Christopher Gurry, and some others, who made a vigorous defence. Their bullets being expended, they fired off their buttons; and when this resource failed, they gave way and retreated in disorder. The Dutchman, together with Coffee and Holland, two of the principal ringleaders, were tried by court martial, and shot; the others got off with a severe whipping.

A handsome residence was this year built by Judge Bernard at the eastern side of Castle-Mahon, and the entire suite called by him Castle-Bernard. The house is thus described by Smith:—"It is now a beautiful and pleasant seat of the Bernards. It has two regular fronts; the walls are of brick, with Corinthian pilasters, coignes and beltings of Portland stone. There are fine gardens on three sides of the house, adorned with fountains, statues, and other decorations; that on the north is a most beautiful spot called the water-garden, with cascades, jets-de' eau, &c. The apartments are well disposed. Adjoining is a very noble park, which is about four

miles in circumference; the Bandon river runs through it, being divided by several islands sweetly wooded, as are most of the upper grounds." He concludes by telling us that "the park may be truly said to be pleasant beyond any poetical description." An east front was subsequently added by Francis, eldest son of the judge, but the whole was taken down in 1798, and the present large and commodious edifice erected in its stead.

1722.—The late bell of Kilbrogan Church, famed for its silvery tone, was cast this year. The casting was performed in the church-yard, and during the operation several of the parishoners attended and threw in pieces of silver.

1723.—The original market house on the southern side was taken down, and a new one built on the same site, towards the erection of which the Earl of Burlington contributed the sum of twenty-two pounds per annum, for five years, being his portion of the tolls of the town. The new building was fifty feet in length, clear of the walls, and twenty in width. The main entrance consisted of five archways, each of which was six feet in height, and whose sides were formed by the six pillars upon which the ornamental portion of the front rested. The yard to the rear was enclosed by a wall, that on the southern side being twenty-five feet high. The entire was completed by Marmaduke Young, junior, for one hundred and twenty pounds, and the materials of the old building.

1724.—Thomas Wight, author of the first "History of the Quakers in Ireland," died this year, at the very advanced age of eighty-four. He was born in Bandon, in 1640. His biographer tells us that he was the son of Rice Wight, minister of the town of Bandon, who was

the son of Thomas Wight, also minister of the same town, and who came here from Guildford, in Surrey. It appears that young Wight's father (Rice Wight) was a very zealous clergyman of the Church of England, in the principles of which he brought up his children with great care; but his son Thomas, "who served a hard apprenticeship to a clothier in Bandon," hearing of a Quakers' meeting which was to be held in the neighborhood, attended it out of curiosity, but, finding that the people sat silent for a long time, he began to feel very uneasy, and to think within himself that he might be bewitched if he stayed any longer, for he had heard that the Quakers were witches. At length, Francis Howgill stood up, and uttered these significant words: "Before the eye can see, it must be opened; before the ear can hear, it must be unstopped; and, before the heart can understand, it must be illuminated." Upon these truisms Francis delivered a very excellent discourse, which made such a deep impression on young Tom's mind, that he became deeply convinced of the truth of what he had heard; but the prejudices of education, and the reproaches of his relatives, very nearly effaced those good impressions, and Tom would, in all probability, have relapsed into Church of Englandism, had not Edward Burrough stretched forth his hand in the work of the gospel, and by his powerful preaching, Wight, no longer able to withstand his convictions, was resolved henceforward to walk humbly before God. He endured a deal of persecution from his former companions, and became a jest and a bye-word with them; but he bore it all like a philosopher. He also displayed great prudence in shunning unnecessary controversy, and in avoiding preaching to those whose worldly interests kept

their eyes firmly closed against the light; but he rather looked to his own spiritual improvement, and gave himself up to sobriety, solitude, silence, and the bible. Soon after this, he boldly stood forth and proclaimed the plain truth, in the plain language and plain clothes of the Society of Friends, and courageously avowed himself a Quaker. In the year 1670, he married, and in process of time had a numerous family. His increased responsibilities induced him to attend very closely to business, not only in the clothing trade, but also in executing commissions from abroad, and, in all likelihood, Tom would, in a short time, have become a wealthy man, had he not been providentially stopped in his prosperous career by an illumination from heaven, which threw a great deal of light upon his mind, causing him to reflect much, and satisfying him "that he could not be heir to two kingdoms at once." Upon this he grew more retired, and devoted himself entirely to the truth. Being an able scribe, he was appointed Clerk to the meeting at Cork, and for the province of Munster. He was also the compiler of an historical account of the first rise and progress of truth in this nation, which he perfected in the form of annals, up to 1700. He was a man of exemplary life and conversation; a pattern of plainness; and a diligent attender of meetings, both at home and abroad. He was seized with an indisposition, which proved mortal, on the ninth month of 1724, under which he showed great composure of mind, and resignation to the Lord's will.*

1727.—A new Parliament assembled in Dublin. The members for Bandon were Brigadier the Hon. George

* See Life of Thomas Wight.

Freke, and Stephen Bernard, Castle Bernard.* Brigadier Freke died in 1731, and was succeeded by Bellingham Boyle, of Glenfield, Rathfarnham, Dublin. The return of both these representatives was indentured under the hands and seals of William Lapp, Provost, and several burgesses. Thomas Evans and Edward Hoare, Esqrs., were also returned for the town, their return being duly authenticated by the hands and seals of John Bourne, Provost, and several of the freemen. Upon these returns being sent up, the house ordered that the Clerk of the Crown do attend immediately, and take off the file the indenture by which the said Mr. Evans and Mr. Hoare were returned. It was further ordered that the said Mr. Evans and Mr. Hoare have liberty to petition the house, within fourteen days, if they think fit, in relation to the election of the said borough. There was also a complaint made by Richard Tonson, senior member for Baltimore, that William Blair, Esq., and several of his dependants, did, in a forcible and riotous manner, break down the ditches on his lands of Coolmountain, and carry away timber. Amongst the disbursements made, by order of the Parliament, this year, we find "one hundred pounds paid to Francis Bernard, Esq., one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, his allowance for Lent Circuit, 17²⁹/₃₀."

1728.—The Quakers' meeting house in Bandon was built. It is still in existence, having long survived the last of the Quakers. Previous to its erection, the first meetings were held at the house of Mr. Edward Cook, Cornet in Oliver Cromwell's own troop of horse, which

* Stephen was the second son of Judge Bernard. He was appointed to the Recordship of Kinsale, in 1734, in succession to Mr. Jephson Busteed, which office he filled for many years. He died at Tarbes, in France, in 1757.

was quartered in Bandon when Howgill and his confreres arrived. After that they were held at the residence of Mr. Daniel Massey; and, after his time, the then Earl of Cork allowed them to meet in one of the three castles erected by the great earl, which occupied the piece of ground now partially covered by a green-house attached to the premises of Mr. T. Bennett. After the castle was taken down, the meeting house was erected on a portion of its site.

1729.—Dean Swift* spent some time in Bandon. Whilst here, he had ample opportunities of learning many of the characteristics of those amongst whom he lived; and, it is to the information thus acquired we are indebted for the motto so devoutly believed to be even still in existence on the walls of Bandon, and which a celebrated political orator stated in the British House of Commons, not many years ago, “that he read it there with his own eyes.” Even yet, it is no unusual thing to see a travelling-capped tourist pull up at the “Tandem Emergo” of the big bridge, and in the “sub auspiciis Johannis Travers,” insist on recognising,

“A Turk, a Jew, or an Atheist,
May live in this town, but no Papist.”

There is scarcely a corner of the earth that these lines have not reached, and been quoted as a specimen of the

* William III. was so pleased with the Dean, that he is said to have shown him how to cut and eat asparagus in the Dutch fashion; and there was evidently a very good understanding between them; but, when Swift presumed upon this, and came to Kensington looking for preferment, he found that the phlegmatic William was not to be trifled with, for on pressing him for a vacant prebend the king replied by the significant offer of a troop of horse. The Dean was very popular in Dublin, owing, in a great measure, to some very spirited pamphlets written by him in favor of Irish manufactures; and, it is related he never left the deanery in Kevin Street, without being accompanied by crowds of the great unwashed, lustily vociferating in favor of their “darlin dane.”—*Vide Hib. Mag.*

rank bigotry and intolerance supposed to prevail here in former days. Nay, we should not be surprised if some future Tenant Right Orator of Tongataboo were to conclude a forcible speech in favor of the Tongataboo compulsory valuation clause, by, in some way or other, lugging in this famous couplet. It is not generally known that the original stanza contained fourteen lines, and as this is very rare—we believe we were favored with the only copy extant—we place it before our readers :

“A Turk, a Jew, or an Atheist,
 May live in this town, but no Papist.
 He that wrote these lines did write them well,
 As the same is written on the gates of hell.
 For Friar Hayes, who made his exit of late,
 Of * * * some say. But, no matter for that.
 He died ; and, if what we’ve heard is aright,
 He came to hell’s gates in a mournful plight.
 ‘ Who’s there ? ’ says the sentry on guard. Quoth the other,
 ‘ A wretched poor priest, sir ; a Catholic brother.’
 ‘ Halt ! instantly halt ! Avaunt ! and stand clear ;
 Go be damned somewhere else ; you shan’t be damned here ;
 We admit no such fellow, for a wretch so uncivil,
 Who on earth would eat God, would in hell eat the Devil.’”

1731.—By order of the Provost, James Jackson, Esq., the following were directed to applot the sum of eighteen pounds three shillings and sixpence, being the amount ordered by a warrant issued at the general assize, held in Cork, this year, to be raised off the borough of Bandon, “for public money and the bellman’s salary :”

Martin James,
 Tanner, Jonathan,
 Jones, John,
 Clear, Ralph,

Conner Daniel, jun.,
 Bull, William,
 Roycroft, William.

1735.—Arthur Bernard, one of the Burgesses of the

Bandon Corporation resigned. His letter on the subject to the Provost, we append:

"To Daniel Connor, Esq., Provost of Bandon, and his Brethren the Burgesses.

"SIRS—My Disorders and Infirmities for Several Years past (of which I believe Ye are all Sensible) having rendered me absolutely Incapable of attending the Requisite Duties of the Corporation, where I have the Honour to be a Burgess. I think it highly Incumbent on me not to Deprive the Burrough any Longer of a Member Capable to attend and Serve in that Station. Answerable therefore to this Resolution I doe now begg Leave Voluntarily to Resign my Burgesship which I hope will be accepted and Conferred on my Eldest Son, Roger Bernard who I heartily recommend to succeed me, and who I hope will not unworthily prove to receive the Same Signal Favours as the Father. thus Gentlemen Sincerely wishing all Imaginable Prosperity to the Corporation of Bandon, Health Affluence and Comfort to your-Selves and Families

"I am your affect^d Humble Servant,

"AR. BERNARD.

"PALLACE ANNE April 14th 1735."

1738.—The first Masonic lodge established in Bandon was introduced this year. It is styled "No. 84, or the Antient Boyne." Although, as we have just stated, it is numbered 84, we must, by no means, infer that there are eighty-three similar institutions of date antecedent, the fact being, that, in point of duration, it is the oldest fraternity throughout this kingdom, with one exception; whilst, so assiduous were the members in the performance of their various Masonic duties, and so well did they appreciate each others friendship and society, that there is not a single recorded instance of the non-observance of a festival. The warrant constituting the lodge, appointing officers, &c., was issued by the Right Honorable the Earl of Enniskillen, and was directed to Matthew Adderly, W.M., Robert Morris, S.W., and

Richard Screech, J. W. The original members, enrolled on the 12th of June, were :

Adderly, Matthew,	Morris, Robert,
Bourke, Thomas,	Simmons, Robert,
Donnellan, John,	Norwood, William,
Frier, Rev. John,	Screech, Richard,
Frier, John, jun.,	Wheeler, John.

During the next fifteen years the following were added :

Bernard, Arthur,	Jarvis, Samuel,
Bennett, Thomas,	Loane, John,
Cotter, Edward,	Minnear, William,
Ellis, Peter,	M'Carthy, Charles,
Gillman, Stephen,	Rugg, Henry,
Harman, Thomas,	Tottenham, Eliffe,
Honner, Robert,	Travers, John Moore.
Hammett, Richard,	

Amongst those subsequently initiated were the following :

Boothby, Colonel,	Hall, Colonel Corn. and Devon
Bushe, Charles Kendal,	Militia,
Blonden, Captain 18th Light	Hindle, Captain 6th D.G.,
Dragoons,	Kinsale, John Lord,
Blake, Lieut.-Colonel Galway	King, Colonel Sligo Militia,
Militia,	Moore, Sir Emanuel,
Cox, Rev. Sir Michael, Bart.,	Quintin, Capt. 10th Hussars,
Cane, Captain 12th Light	Williamson, Major Light Dra-
Dragoons,	goons,
Cunningham, Hon. John,	Warren, Augustus,
Coote, Lieut.-Gen. Sir Eyre,	Younghusband, Captain 7th
DeCourcy, Hon. William	Dragoons.
Dyson, Captain 3rd D.G.,	

There were also a great many French officers admitted, who were prisoners in Bandon in 1746 and 1747, such as

Comes, Jean Baptiste,	Fostain, Louis,
Cottin, Pierre,	Florence, Pierre,
Du Portas Jean, M.D.,	Guzeau, Louis,
Du Roche, Francois,	Kersabie, Chevalier, &c.

Although the collars worn by this fraternity are of orange velvet, yet they have no political significance whatsoever, as the orange was adopted by them sixty years before the wearing of an orange ribbon was presumed to indicate the political views of the wearer. In proof of this, we are told that upon the occasion of a provincial gathering in Cork, several years since, a deputation, consisting of two Protestants and two Roman Catholics, was sent down by "84." The deputation being duly announced, presented themselves for admission, but were peremptorily refused, on the grounds that they wore party emblems. They protested against this inference, urging that orange was the color worn by their lodge ever since its foundation; but it was of no avail, in they should not come until they were properly habited. Finding all remonstrance useless, the two Protestants uncollared, and prepared to comply; but the Roman Catholics would not hear of it—they turned furiously on their brother deputies, and upbraided them in the most emphatic, but certainly unmasonic language, taunting them with deserting their colors; and, exciting the feelings of the Antient Boyners to such a pitch, that they flung from them the loathed blue, and, returning to their first love, they put on their orange colors, and indignantly left the room.*

* It is to be regretted, that of late a retrograde policy has been pursued by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in reference to the Society of Free Masons. Up to within the last few years, there was no restraint laid upon Roman Catholics from sharing in the sociality and good-fellowship of this society—a society whose ruling principle is brotherly love; where politics are uncared for and unknown; where men belonging to every degree on the social scale, laying aside caste, meet each other upon the broad basis of social equality; and where this principle is so rigidly enforced, that the gilded accoutrements of the general officer attract no more attention than the worsted epaulets of the private soldier, who often presented arms to him at the barrack gate, nor, indeed, is any superiority sought for or demanded. When the Lord Bishop of the Diocese meets in lodge

1739.—This was known as the year of the great frost, which was so intense in this locality that potatoes were found frozen in the middle of large balls of woollen thread. All the rivers here were frozen over ; whilst so severe was the frost in Cork, that the ice on the Lee was found capable of supporting tents, shows, booths, &c. Lough Drippel, near Dunmanway, was the only piece of water in the South of Ireland upon which the frost had no effect. Provisions became very scarce and dear ; so much so, that wheat was sold at forty-two shillings the kilderkin, and other edibles in proportion.

Rev. William Jackson was admitted to the Incumbency of Kilbrogan. He only held the appointment three months, when he resigned, and was succeeded by the Rev. William Robinson.

1746.—The Rev. John Browne, LL.D., was admitted Incumbent of Kilbrogan, in the room of Rev. William Robinson, deceased. Dr. Browne held the appointment for fifty years,* and died at the very advanced age of eighty-seven. By his will he bequeathed the interest of one hundred pounds to the Protestant poor of Kilbrogan, as follows : “I give and bequeath unto the poor reduced Protestant householders of Kilbrogan, who are ashamed to beg, the lawful interest of the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, to be paid and distributed to them in

he heeds not whether his lawn sleeves are in contact with the threadbare habiliments of a poor brother, or in juxta-position with the ermine of a judge. Under these circumstances, one would think that a Christian Church would catholically encourage its members to enter a body where all creeds and classes can meet in concord, and thereby foster those feelings of amity and good will which should be the object of all Christians to promote.

* It is astonishing what a great age some of the Rectors in the possession of good country livings attain to. An old Incumbent died in our neighborhood, in 1851, who was the immediate successor of one who, in his younger days, was a curate to Dean Swift.

every month of December, for ever, by my son, Thomas Adderly Browne, his heirs and assigns, and I order and direct that my said son shall, immediately after my decease, secure the same to be paid yearly, and every year, out of the legacies I have hereby given." Dr. Browne took a great interest in the charities connected with Kilbrogan, and, at considerable expense and trouble, recovered the sum of fifty pounds from the executors of the preceding Incumbent, Rev. William Robinson, two-thirds of the interest of which are distributed amongst the poor of Kilbrogan, whilst the other third is similarly distributed amongst those of Moragh.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE METHODISTS FIRST VISIT CORK—ORIGINAL LETTER BY ONE OF THEIR HEARERS—THE FIRST REGULAR MAIL BETWEEN CORK AND SKIBBEREEN—JOHN WESLEY VISITS BANDON—THE RECTOR OF KILBROGAN'S OPINION OF METHODISM—THE LINEN TRADE IN INNOSHANNON—THE PRICE OF SAND THERE IN THE OLD TIMES—THE OLD BANDON BRIDGE SWEEPED AWAY—DECLINE OF THE WOOLLEN TRADE—FRENCH COLONY IN INNOSHANNON—PADDY REDMOND THE TAILOR.

THE Methodists first visited Cork in 1748. We have been favoured with an original letter written by one of their hearers at this time, in reply to an unjustifiable attack made upon them by a clergyman of the establishment. The letter goes on to say, "I would ask any gentleman what fault he can find with the doctrine of those Methodists? Do they not preach, with the utmost zeal and ardeney, the word of God according to the dictates of revealed religion? And what visible inducements have they for undergoing the troublesome fatigues of preaching—for quitting their native homes and families, but the happiness of their fellow-creatures. If we are to believe their words, they want none of our gold and silver, but all they desire is to rouse us from the lethargy under which we have, for a long time, unthinkingly labored. On the other hand, those gentlemen who write and speak against them for putting them in mind of their duty, care not how the shadow is, so they have the bone; and, when they are inducted, will not do any one individual act relative to their duty without payment, and to a man verify the old proverb, 'No penny, no pater noster.' What benefit can the immortal part

of us receive or expect from a set of people who must be hired for showing us the road to heaven? Must not everybody who thinks at all imagine that the benefits resulting to our souls by preaching the methods lately prescribed and laid down to us without gratuity, fee, or reward, will be greater than those laid down at the price of a great part of our worldly substance? For my part, I cannot find any fault with those Methodists; but what I would desire would be, that the lazy imperious shepherds would mind their flocks, so that we may have no need of procuring gratis what we ought to get from those who are too well paid for the little they do."

A regular post was first established, this year, between Cork and Skibbereen. The unfortunate postman, who was not only obliged to walk the entire way, but to carry the mail bags in addition, was paid only the miserable sum of six pounds per annum—a little over two shillings a week. In some years later, the biped was displaced by a quadruped, which was bestrode by one William Leary, and to whom the custody of his majesty's royal mails was entrusted.

1749.—John Wesley paid his first visit to Bandon. He put up at the residence of Mr. Hawes, a very respectable man, who occupied a house near the middle of the northern side of the South Main Street. In his journal he writes: "I rode over to Bandon, a town which is entirely inhabited by Protestants. I preached at seven, in the middle of the main street. Here was by far the largest congregation, both morning and evening, of any I had seen in Ireland." Under date June 2, he continues: "In the evening a gentlewoman informed me that Dr. B. had averred to her and many others, that both John and Charles Wesley had been

expelled the University of Oxford long ago ; that there was not a Methodist left in Dublin or any town in Ireland, but Cork and Bandon, all the rest having been rooted out by order of the government ; that neither were there any Methodists left in England ; *that it was all Jesuitism at the bottom.* Alas, for poor Dr. B. ! God be merciful unto him a sinner !” In about twelve months after this, Wesley visited Bandon again, of which he writes : “ God gave us great peace at Bandon, notwithstanding the unwearied labor, both public and private, of good Dr. B. (Dr. Browne, Rector of Kilbrogan) to stir up the people. I began preaching in the Main Street, at the usual hour, but to more than twice the usual congregation. After I had spoken about a quarter of an hour, a clergyman, who had planted himself near me, with a very large stick in his hand, according to agreement, opened the scene—indeed, his friends assured me he was drunk, or he would not have done so ; but, before he had uttered many words, two or three resolute women, by main strength, pulled him into a house, and, after expostulating a little, sent him away through the garden ; but here he fell violently on her that conducted him—not in anger, but in love, such as it was—so that she was constrained to repel force by force, and cuff him soundly, before he would let her go. The next champion that appeared was one Mr. M., a young gentleman of the town ; he was attended by two others, with pistols in their hands ; but his triumph, too, was short. The third came on with greater fury, but he was encountered by a butcher of the town—Jim Moxley—who used him as he would an ox, bestowing one or two hearty blows upon his head. This cooled his courage, especially as none took his part.”

It is rather singular that the very pulpit from which old Browne used to fulminate his anathemas against his fellow Christians, the Wesleyans, was the very one used by them in the services in connexion with the laying of the foundation stone of the present Methodist chapel.

At the August Assizes following (1749), the persecuting spirit which had pursued the Wesleyans in various parts of the county and city of Cork, was embodied by the Grand Jury in a presentment as slanderous as it was lying and malignant. It is as follows: "We find and present Charles Wesley to be a person of ill-fame, a vagabond, and a common disturber of his majesty's peace; and we pray he may be transported." They also presented a similar request against eight Wesleyan ministers, who had previously visited Cork. We have no hesitation in stating, that had not Wesley and his preachers stepped in at this period, there would scarcely be a professor of the Protestant religion left in the country parts of three out of the four provinces of Ireland, beneath the rank of a landed proprietor. To such lengths did the clergy in England carry their contempt for things spiritual, that many of them passed the greater portion of their time over the punch bowl and the dice box. More of them became notorious for the potency and originality of their maledictions; and several spent their entire lives in scoffing at those moral and religious maxims which we have been taught to consider indispensable to the attainment of an eternal welfare. The glare of their vices crossed the Channel, and spread its baneful light over this country; and, even in our own neighborhood, more than one of our clergy has been accused of wearing his scarlet coat and top boots whilst performing one of the most beauti-

ful, as well as one of the most solemn and impressive services of the English church—that of the burial of the dead.* Even this contemptuous disregard of the clergy for their sacred duties, the spiritual requirements, and the very being of their parishioners, has, in some instances, extended itself down to our own day. A worthy and a valuable clergyman of the Establishment told us that when he was first appointed to the curacy of an adjoining parish he had no other means of ascertaining the names of his Protestant parishioners but by asking them of the parish priest; and yet, in the opinion of the great jury of Cork county Solons, Wesley and his preachers were “common disturbers, vagabonds, and persons of ill-fame.”

About this time great efforts were made to introduce the linen manufacture into Bandon, where it met with only a partial success. In the neighboring towns and villages it was much more successful, particularly in Innoshannon,† where Mr. Thomas Adderly got up a

* We are happy to be able to testify to the great change for the better that has taken place amongst the clergymen of the Church of England since this period. A benefice is not now valued solely for its emoluments. With many of the clergy in our neighborhood, and we feel confident elsewhere, the duties of their office are paramount. Indeed, we could easily instance one who systematically distributes his rectoral income between his poor parishioners and some charitable institutions in which he takes an interest. In other respects, too, this change is perceptible. It would give rise to scandal in this day if a clergyman did not pursue that course himself which he points out for the guidance of others. Besides, he is now frequently amongst his humble parishioners; he interests himself about their spiritual welfare; he prevents them from straying from his charge, by bringing them together for prayer, by pious exhortations, and by instructing them in the principles of their faith, and thus he has begun to discharge those duties which have been heretofore performed for him by those upon whom he was never tired of heaping insult and injury—upon men, too, who neither coveted his honors or desired his wealth, but who were cheerfully content with the mouthful of bread and the cup of milk tendered them by the kindness of those amidst whom they labored.

† Innoshannon was at one time walled in, and is supposed to have been antiently a place of some note. This supposition is somewhat sub-

bleach yard and other conveniencies, and so well did the trade flourish, that from the 1st of February, 1748, to the 1st of November, 1749, there were four hundred and twenty-two pieces, containing thirteen thousand eight hundred and eighty-six yards, of various kinds of linen manufactured, principally sheetings and diapers. In addition to this there were two hundred and forty pieces woven in the neighborhood, and carried there to be bleached, it being ascertained that the water of the Bandon river was most effectual for that purpose. At one period there were sixty-six looms at work, from which fabrics were turned out, which, for durability, strength, and color, would successfully compete with any in Ireland.

The vicinity of Innoshannon at this time abounded with turf bogs, from which large quantities of turf were cut, and sent down to Kinsale in boats, where it was disposed of, the boats returning with sea sand, which used to be sold at the rate of one hundred and twenty bags for sixteen shillings, each bag containing twenty stone. This was carried on horses backs into Muskerry and the adjoining townlands, where it was used, as in our day, for manure.

The population of Bandon was very large this year. It contained one thousand men capable of carrying arms.

stantiated by the discovery of the remains of the foundations of several castles and other large buildings in and around its present site. It was granted, together with the ferry across the Bandon, by Henry V., to Philip de Barry, in 1412. In 1561, a battle was fought here between the Desmonds, under the command of Thomas and James, the sons of Maurice Duve, who were returning from a predatory excursion into Carbery, and the sons of MacCarthy Riavach, Turlough Mac Sweeny, and their followers. The Desmonds were overtaken at Innoshannon, and, after a terrible struggle, in which hundreds fell on both sides, they were compelled to give way, leaving numbers of their men dead upon the field, and losing many others who were drowned in endeavoring to escape across the river.

Many of these used to parade in full regimentals, consisting of a red coat with black facings, cross-belts, pouches, side arms, &c.

The old Bandon bridge, the first that was ever erected here, and whose foundations were laid before a single house arose at either bank of the river, was carried away this year. This was occasioned by a large tree brought down from Castle Bernard park by one of the winter floods, and which, unfortunately, got across one of the main archways. To this was shortly added a large rick of hay, which had been swept out of a kitchen garden belonging to a widow woman named Barry, whose premises occupied the ground upon which was the residence of the late Miss Ann Williams. These, with branches of trees, turf, straw stacks, and other impedimenta brought away by an unexpected rise in the river, ponded up the water to such an extent that it quickly over-topped its narrow boundaries, and rushed down, flooding all the level parts of the town, and doing very considerable damage. Meanwhile, the old bridge firmly held its ground. At first it trembled, then shook, split, gaped out, and, finally, lowering its old weather-beaten front, it slowly and silently descended into the roaring mass of water beneath; and, in a few short hours, not one stone was left upon another of the old bridge nurse of Bandon.*

1750.—The woollen trade began rapidly to decline, and in consequence, a great many of those engaged in that occupation left the town; many of these settled in Blarney-lane, in Cork, where renewed efforts were made

* This happened on a Saturday, and, it being market day, there was a number of people in the town, some of whom were unable to make their way home for several days, as all the bridges in the neighborhood were either swept away or very seriously injured.

to restore this valuable branch of industry. From the foundation of Bandon the inhabitants were more or less engaged in the manufacture of woollen fabrics. It was found most advantageous to all engaged in it, and we have had no species of employment since introduced which at all approached it in extent and emolument. To the sheep farmer it opened a local market, and the high price which competition always ensures; the artizans were paid high wages, most, if not all, of which they exchanged for the various consumables which the locality afforded; and, the shipper was rewarded with a margin which encouraged him to increase his consignments, and thereby add more to the profitable demand for labor, and to the wealth of the community. It was seriously damaged by the outburst of the great rebellion in '41, from the effects of which, however, it soon rallied; but it was from those from whom it had a right to expect encouragement, that it received the grossest injury and injustice. There was an Act of the English Parliament, passed in the reign of William III., prohibiting the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures to England, or any of the English colonies, on the grounds "that if the said woollens continued to be exported, the English manufacture should entirely cease, to the detriment of trade and the landed interest." At this period, the leading article of the trade was camlet, which was a coarse cloth made of woollen thread, and dyed a bright color. It was generally shipped to Portugal and the West Indies, in small casks about the size of butter firkins. Butter was also extensively shipped by the same parties, to the places just mentioned; and always commanded not only a ready market, but a high quotation. Towards the close of the last century, and the beginning of this,

the camlet manufacture again revived, but in the course of some years it again left us, we fear never to return.

1751.—So great was the number of offences committed against person and property, by Irish hay makers in England, (many of whom, under the pretext of going over to save hay, escaped into France, and joined the French service), that the English Parliament passed an act “to prevent any of those vagabond spalpeens from landing in any part of Great Britain, without certificates of good behaviour, or a guarantee given that they would not enlist in the French, or any other foreign service.”

1753.—Richard Boyle, fourth Earl of Cork, and great grandson of the first earl, died without male issue. His only child, Charlotte Elizabeth, was married in March, 1748, to William, Marquis of Hartington, eldest son of William, third duke of Devonshire. It was this lady who carried into the House of Cavendish, the princely estates in this county, now enjoyed by her great grandson, the present duke.

May 1754.—In an attempt made to arrest Murty Oge Sullivan, of Berehaven, and others, for the murder of John Puxley, Esq., O’Sullivan, and several of his men, were killed.

The first meat shambles was erected in Bandon. It was built at the northern end of the bridge, western side, and contained twenty-two stalls. These were in great demand by the butchers, who paid one pound annually, for each stall, and occupied them on the opening day in the following order :—

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| 1. William Moxley. | 5. Christopher Lisson. |
| 2. Timothy Keneash. | 6. James Moxley. |
| 3. James Harris & William Tomson. | 7. James Moxley, jun. |
| 4. Richard Morgan. | 8. Denis Murray. |
| | 9. Michael Hurley. |

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|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 10. Thomas Wholehane. | 17. John Searls. |
| 11. John Burchill. | 18. Cornelius Forehane & Son. |
| 12. Cornelius Rickard. | 19. Stephen Moxley. |
| 13. John Reen. | 20. Robert Searls. |
| 14. William Searls. | 21. John Lisson. |
| 15. Timothy Murphy. | 22. Edward Drake. |
| 16. William Moxley. | |

1761.—A new Parliament assembled in Dublin, this year. The members for Bandon were, William Conner, Esq., and Thomas Adderly, Esq.* Our senior member, Mr. Conner, did not long enjoy his senatorial honors, as he died in a few years after. By his will, dated this year, he bequeathed the sum of three hundred pounds to the poor of the parishes of Kilbrogan and Ballymoodan, as follows :—"Whereas, I have a mortgage on the corporation lands of Bandon, for receiving the payment of the principal sum of three hundred pounds, with interest for the same. Now, I do give and bequeath such mortgage, and all money due, and to grow due thereby, unto my two executors, or their heirs, upon trust, as they shall think fit, or as a convenient purchase shall offer, to lay out and invest the said sum of three hundred pounds, in the purchase of lands of desirable continuance, upon trust, that the said clear rents and profits, shall be for ever paid by my said son Roger, or his heirs, to, and amongst such of the distressed inhabitants of the town of Bandon, as shall appear to have been reduced, and to be the more worthy objects entitled to such charity." The three hundred pounds bequeathed by the testator, has since increased to one thousand pounds, owing to the non-payment of interest for a number of years. The entire is now held under a decree of the Court of Chancery, by which, three trustees are

* Thomas Adderly, married his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Judge Bernard, and widow of Lord Charlemont.

appointed, viz. :—the Provost of Bandon, and the Incumbents of Ballymoodan and Kilbrogan.

1762.—Alice Cambridge, the well-known Wesleyan minister, was born in Bandon, on the first day of this year. Her father was a member of the Established Church, of which he was a regular attendant; and her mother, who was even still more regardful of her religious duties, was a Presbyterian; but Alice, in making her choice, selected that system which appeared to her to combine the excellencies of both the previous ones, and the faults of neither—she was a Methodist. Miss Cambridge was a woman of great energy and perseverance. Nothing daunted her. Although a preacher in petticoats, was in her time, as great a novelty as in our own, and though she knew her congregation often contained numbers of those who came to jeer and not to pray, nevertheless, she stood up in the pulpit unabashed, gave the little cap which she wore on the back of her head, a twist, tightened her apron strings about her waist, and entered becomingly on her discourse. She died in 1829, having enjoyed a long life, in which she did a great deal of good and no harm.

1765.—About sixty Huguenot families, accompanied by their pastor, the Rev. Peter Cortez, arrived in Cork, in the Red Head Galley, and settled at Innoshannon. They were induced to come over by our junior representative, Mr. Thomas Adderly, who was anxious to introduce the rearing of silkworms, and otherwise afford employment to the skill and enterprise of the settlers. He granted them leases for twenty-one years, at low rents; built houses—the ruined walls, and broken gables of which, still pass current as “the colony.” He planted a piece of ground with mulberry trees, for the silkworms to feed

upon, and strove hard to make the undertaking succeed ; but it shared the fate of many a similar and well intentioned effort. The silkworms died ; the colonists made the best of their way to London and other places ;* and the Mulberry field has left us nothing but its name.

1766.—Upon the death of Mr. Connor, this year, Francis Bernard, of Castle Bernard, who had been a representative for Clonakilty during the previous forty years, was elected in his stead. This gentleman was familiarly known as Squire Bernard. He was the eldest son of Judge Bernard, and was married to the Lady Anne Petty, only daughter of the Earl of Shelburn.

A tailor named Patrick Redmond was executed at Gallows Green, Cork, for robbing the dwelling-house of John Griffin. Glover, the actor, who was then in Cork, took an active part in connection with this criminal's restoration to life, who, after being suspended for about nine minutes, was cut down, and the body delivered to his friends. These speedily set to work, and, by means of friction and fumigation, effected a complete recovery, and Paddy was enabled to make good his escape ; but being overcome by gratitude or drink, or probably both, he had the hardihood to go to the door of the theatre the night of his execution, and publicly to thank Mr. Glover for his kindness. Redmond is stated to have been the third tailor that defrauded the gallows within the previous eleven years.

1768.—An immense fall of snow, which continued for several days. In many places it was six feet deep. The

* One or two of the colonists' houses are still to be seen at the southern end of Innoshannon Bridge. They may be recognized by their demi-lozenge-shaped windows, and the ornamental brick work enclosing same. Mr. Cortez was succeeded in his pastoral duties by the Rev. M. Belsang, some of whose descendants are still in the neighborhood.

horse of a gentleman, who was riding from Bandon to Cork, got so embedded in it, that spades and shovels were had recourse to to extricate him.

For the first time in the history of Ireland, the royal family were prayed for in the Roman-Catholic chapels.

1770.—Block-wheels were first introduced into this neighborhood. They were composed of solid blocks of timber about three feet and a half in diameter, and from six to eight inches in thickness, and heavily bound all round with iron. A carpenter, named William Hennessy, was the first to bring them into notice; and so slowly did the public take to them, that at the Red Strand, near Clonakilty (now so famous as the daily resort of thousands of sand-carts), only three wheeled vehicles made their appearance there during the entire year.*

* *Vide* Hawkes's MS.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE NEW BRIDGE AT BANDON ERECTED—THE FERRY-BOAT—MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT—THE MAC CARTHY DUVES—ONE GOOD TURN DESERVES ANOTHER—DONOGH OUTWITS A FAMOUS HIGHWAYMAN—THE ATTACK ON HOLLAND'S HOUSE—THE REV. EMANUEL MOORE SHOT—THE EXECUTION OF THE DUVES—THE IRON COLLAR—THE THREE HAZLITTS BORN IN BANDON.

A new bridge was built over the Bandon river (1773) in place of the one carried away in 1749. The very long delay was owing to the largeness of the sum required, and the very imperfect state of the grand jury laws, which rendered it a matter of great difficulty to procure the necessary funds. The sum required, however, was at length forthcoming, partly in assistance from the county, but mainly in private subscriptions; and the bridge was opened within the year. On a mural tablet, in the battlement over the centre arch, and facing the roadway, is the following inscription :

"Tandem Emergo
Sub Auspiciis
Johannis Travers,
Præpositi Anno Dom.
1773."

During the long interval that had intervened, intercourse was kept up between both sides of the town by a ferry-boat. In the ordinary week-days, this mode of conveyance was safe enough; but, on market-days, it was positively dangerous, owing not only to the crowded state of the boat, but also to the state of the boatman,

Tade Callaghan (Boskean). It happened that, on one market-day, the boat was passing over more than usually depressed, whilst Tade, who was quite the other way (being more than usually elevated), roughly laid hold of the oars, and scarcely had they arrived midway, when, by some mischance, he upset all the passengers into the river, which being very much swollen at the time, several of them were drowned, amongst whom was the inebriated Charon of the Bandon river—poor Tade Callaghan himself.

Two of the Mac Carthy Duves (pronounced *Dhoooves*) were hanged, in the April of this year, on the Gallows Hill in Bandon. There were three brothers, all of whom were leaders in the famous band which bore their name. Originally they were laborers to a farmer at Rockfort, near Innoshannon, where they were born, and lived until their numerous crimes left them no house and scarce a resting-place to hide in. The three were noted for their uncommon daring and effrontery; but the worst of the entire lot, as well as the cleverest, was the notorious Donogh. We are told that he even outwitted a celebrated highwayman of his day, and that in his own especial territory—Kilworth Mountain. It is related that a gentleman in this neighborhood was robbed by the well known desperado on his return with the rents of some property of his in that district. Being naturally afraid to venture there again, unless under the protection of a sufficiently strong escort—an opportunity which seldom presented itself—he was obliged to trust to the chapter of accidents, and let the matter lie. Some short time before this, he had the good fortune to do good service to the famous Donogh; but whether, by so doing, he conferred a favor upon

society, or perpetrated a gross injustice upon it, is a subject we will not stop to discuss. One thing, however, is certain, that, were it not for his zealous interference, it would have been literally all up with Donogh. Being anxious to do something for so great a personal favor, Donogh went to him, and volunteered not only to go down single-handed, but to bring up every stiver of the money safe and sound. The gentleman, nothing loth, boldly entrusted him, and gave him a letter to his agent; and, early upon the next morning, Donogh was mounted and far upon the road to Kilworth. He had not travelled over more than half of that bleak region, when a well mounted man overtook him, and, with a "God save you!" reined in his horse to the jog-trot pace of Duve. After a few civil remarks, the stranger inquired what brought him to such a dreary place, surmising that it must be something very important. Donogh unhesitatingly told the truth—that he was sent for a considerable sum of money, adding that he expected to be back there by the day after the morrow. Soon after, his newly formed acquaintance struck into a by-path, giving Donogh a half-grown piece to drink his health, and warning him, above all things, to take care of his money. In due time, our traveller arrived at his destination, presented his letter, got the money, and, having rested both himself and his horse, again started off on his way home. Having arrived at Kilworth, he was soon joined by his former companion, who, after bidding him the top of the morning, asked if he got the money. Duve mildly replied in the affirmative. "Come, then," said he, "out with every blessed cross of it this minute!" roaring into his astonished ears the name of the dreaded freebooter. The poor country boy

was all aghast. He began to clap his hands, and to cry, and implored the "dacent gentleman" not to take it away; but the highwayman was inexorable—his heart could not be softened. He swore out a tremendous oath, and the terrified pursebearer dropped the money-bag. "Wisha, sir!" said he after a pause, getting off his horse, and brightening up as if a thought suddenly struck him, "I wish you'd drive a bullet through my hat," at the same time putting his *caubeen* upon the ground, "in order to make the master think I made a terrible hard fight of it entirely." Donogh's late opponent was highly amused at the design, and, having procured what he wanted, readily consented to oblige the poor simpleton, and, dismounting, speedily accomplished the desired object. "Drive another through this, yer honor," says Duve, holding out the cape of his coat. Again he complied. "And another through this," holding up one of its ample skirts. "Oh! I have fired off both my pistols," quoth he, walking towards his horse, which had strayed away a little distance in quest of a mouthful of fresh grass. Quick as lightning, Donogh rushed between them, and, presenting a large horse-pistol at his head, swore by the — that, if he did not deliver up every mortal rap in his possession, he would blow him to pieces that very instant, shouting out in a voice of thunder, "For here's the master of your master! here's Donogh Duve!" The other had often heard of Duve before; and knowing there would be no use in trifling with such a powerful opponent, who, in addition to being armed, was physically his superior, he therefore acted as any sensible man would have done under the circumstances, and disgorged to order. He first laid down his pistols,

then his ball-cartridge, Donogh's money-bag, and his own purse containing fourteen guineas; next followed three watches and a few trinkets. Having turned his pockets inside out, and rid himself of everything worth taking, he was ordered to march off some paces to the rear, and turn his back. In the interim, Duve, who had safely secured all the valuables, coolly mounted the other charger; then, riding up to him and stooping over the pommel of the saddle, he told his outwitted antagonist in a confidential whisper, that whenever he met a poor simpleton again, not to forget Donogh Duve.

The immediate cause of the arrest of the Duves, and their subsequent execution, was an attack upon the house of a man named Holland, who lived as dairyman and-caretaker to Mr. Alcock, of Roughgrove, and resided in the old residence which, at that time, occupied the present site of Roughgrove House. Holland had returned from Cork late in the evening, after disposing of some butter, and brought with him, amongst other things, a heavy iron bar—in those days used for shoeing block-wheels. About one in the morning, he was awoke out of a sound sleep by the smashing in of the front door; and, before he could well arouse his dormant senses and seize upon the iron bar just mentioned, two of the daring burglars rushed up stairs. The staircase was very narrow, and led from the landing into his room by a very sharp angle. It was mainly owing to this, and the circumstance that only one person could pass up at the time, that rendered Holland's position so advantageous. The first to come up was a man named Mac Carthy, from the neighboring townland of Shinagh, and behind him was Daniel Duve with a loaded blunderbuss.

Holland was at the top of the stairs, and threatened Mac Carthy if he dared to approach another inch. The latter's reply was a bound forward, and, with one blow, Holland struck him dead. He then rushed down, holding the dead man in his arms, and pressing him upon Duve, who was thus forced to retreat foot by foot without being able to get a shot at his opponent. When he had reached the last step of the stairs, Holland, putting forth all his strength, made a violent rush at him, still pushing on the corpse. He upset Duve, instantly threw himself upon him, and, after a fierce struggle, tore the blunderbuss from his grasp. Duve again seized it, and, after a fight still more fierce and prolonged, Holland was again victorious. Meanwhile, some of the gang, who had been left outside to watch, came in, and furtively carried away Mac Carthy's body. Upon their return, they found that not only was Dan a prisoner, but that his powerful antagonist had received assistance. Again they retreated, but this time with the loss of another of their number—the second brother, Michael Duve. He was bravely seized upon by the servant-girl, and held until her master and the servant-boy came to her help. They then secured their prisoners by spancelling their arms and legs, and twisting ropes about them in such a way, that for them to effect their liberation was impossible. Then barricading the doors and windows as well as circumstances would admit, with beating hearts they anxiously awaited the morning dawn. So cautious did they deem it necessary to be, that they were afraid to light a splinter of bog-wood, or even to blow a sod of turf, lest the light would betray them. Nay, they did not venture to speak even in a whisper, in dread that the voice would be a

guide to the armed gang assembled outside, and a fatal discharge from a blunderbuss terminate all further solicitude. Several times stones were thrown at the doors and windows, sometimes at a distance, but at other times so close that it was evident there were but a few feet between the assailants and Holland and his trembling companions. On one occasion (and it was the only one), a fellow attempted to climb in through a window; but here the iron bar again came into requisition, and it descended with such force within an inch of the intruder's skull, that he instantly jumped to the ground, and was not imprudent enough to repeat the experiment. All this time, the Duves were singing away merrily, probably to let their friends outside know their exact position. These evidently understood them, and, by whistling and coughing, endeavored to keep them in courage. Time rolled heavily away, every minute seeming to be an hour in duration. "Will it ever be day?" thought Holland, as he anxiously peered through the diamond-cut window-glass, and looked out upon the black massed clouds that lay before him. Again he looked out, and again; but the prospect was as uncheering and the darkness as impenetrable as ever. At length, a pale blue tinge flashed across the eastern sky. The cock gave out a lusty crow. Again Holland looked out, and, lo! the morrow had come. Shortly after, a neighboring farmer knocked at the door, and asked if anything was wrong, stating that his dogs were barking all through the night, and he thought there must be mischief somewhere. He was told in a few words, and directed to wake up the neighbors. These soon began to drop in, armed with

pikes, reaping-hooks, and whatever offensive weapons they could conveniently lay hands upon. Finding that all hopes of a rescue were now at an end, Michael Duve burst into fits of crying, and asked God to forgive him for his numerous offences; but Dan preserved a sulkily silence, broken but once, when calling to one of those that surrounded him. He addressed him by his Christian name, and asked for a *shough* of the pipe—a request that was instantly complied with. In a few hours later, a sergeant's guard arrived; and the Duves, being delivered up to them, were handcuffed, and marched into Bandon.

Meanwhile, news of the capture of the famous Duves had spread far and near. It ran from ploughland to ploughland, from parish to parish. The peasantry of one district no sooner told it to those of another, than, throwing down their mattocks and grephanes, they flocked in crowds to Bandon. The whole flat of Barry's Walk, extending from where the Convent of the Order of the Presentation now stands a full mile and a half along the old Macroom Road, was black with people; but there was one place in that swaying mass of humanity where the thick crowd was thickest, and where the murmur of voices was the loudest. In the middle of this thick crowd, a small space was with difficulty preserved; and in the centre of this was a little old woman, with a white kerchief tied round her head, and her figure enveloped in a frieze cloak of ample dimensions. This little old woman was the mother of the Duves, and, when the unfortunate men arrived before where she was standing, she went upon her knees to give her boys her blessing; but the salutation she received

was a terrible one. "Oh, damn you! you old ——!" cried Dan, "it was you were the cause of all."*

At the ensuing spring assizes, they were both tried, as was also their eldest brother, Donogh, who had been arrested in a house on the lands of Geara, in the parish of Kilmeen, to which place he and some others had forcibly carried off a young woman, with the intention of marrying her to one of his comrades. The Rev. Emanuel Moore, having heard of the outrage, collected some of his neighbors, and, accompanied by his brothers, followed in hot pursuit, and came up with them in the house just mentioned. Having knocked several times at the door without receiving any answer, they were preparing to burst it in, when it was at length partially opened by an old woman, who, thrusting out her head, asked what did they want. They soon told her; but she stoutly denied that there was any one within. This, however, did not satisfy Mr. Moore. He resolved to judge for himself, and announced his intention of making a search. Accordingly, pushing past the old woman, he gained admittance; but, finding the inside was all in darkness, he groped his way to the fire-place, and, taking up a sod of turf, began to blow it in order to procure a light. Duve, who had been in the loft overhead, and who was an anxious listener to all that had passed, had previously descended a few steps of the stairs, where he sat down, and quietly awaited the turn of events; but finding that the place was about being searched, and that he must necessarily be made a prisoner, with but a poor chance of escaping the halter,

* It is stated, that, when her sons were children, one of them stole a halfpenny worth of brogue-nails, which he brought to his mother; and she, to encourage him, gave him a penny, and sent him back for more.

or fight his way through his assailants, boldly resolved on the latter. He afterwards declared he had no intention that time of shedding blood; his object being to escape, and to use his arms only for that purpose if necessary; but, when the glowing turf-sod revealed the features of his untiring foe, he could not resist the tempting opportunity. He raised his blunderbuss to his shoulder, took deliberate aim, and Mr. Moore fell mortally wounded upon the hearthstone; then, jumping down, he daringly rushed for the door; but here he was met by the guard outside, and, after a desperate resistance, he was finally disarmed and secured. For this murder he was arraigned; but the judge directed the jury to acquit him, it being found that Mr. Moore had no warrant for his arrest. He was, however, immediately put upon his trial for having stolen the blunderbuss with which he committed the fatal deed; and, this being satisfactorily proved, he was found guilty of the felony, and sentenced to death, as were also his two brothers, who had been convicted of the burglary at Roughgrove. It was ordered, in addition, that the executions should take place in the towns nearest to where the offences had been committed. Accordingly, when the three unfortunate men arrived in Bandon, Michael and Dan were detained there; but Donogh was sent on strongly escorted to Clonakilty. When the escort arrived at a cross-road adjoining that town, then and still known as Fac's Bridge, they found that every preparation had been made by the local authorities for carrying out the dread sentence of the law, and also that numbers of persons from the country as well as from the town had assembled to feast their eyes upon one of the most notorious criminals of the day, and to

see if that reckless daring which tracked his career through this world would cower as he approached the next. He soon took his place on the drop; the rope was adjusted; and, after nodding and smiling to some of his old friends whom he recognized in the crowd, the bolt was about being drawn, when he sought, as a last request, to be allowed to say a few words. This was assented to; and, stepping a pace or two to the front, "Good people," said he, with a comic expression of countenance, which provoked roars of merriment from those who had come to see him die, "all I have to say is, that the best thing for you to light a pipe with is the faded stalk of a potato." Then, turning with the same humorous leer to the executioner, he told him to go on. This apparent disregard for his impending doom might in some measure be accounted for by the fact that he wore an iron collar round his neck, with strong projecting hooks, so that when the drop would fall, the rope would glide up, and, being caught by them, would be prevented from pressing fatally on the jugular—a contrivance that was made for him by a smith named Lane, from Ballinacurra in this neighborhood. But this did not avail him; for Hastings Moore—a brother of the murdered man, and one of those who assisted in his capture at Geara—was watching his every move from the foot of the scaffold, and perceiving that his neckerchief was unusually large, or, as some assert, having received private information, he ordered the hangman to lay bare his neck; and, lo! the imposture was discovered. This was speedily removed. Again the rope was adjusted. And, casting a vengeful glance at his insatiable enemy, "O Moore!" quoth the wretched man, "may the curse of the unfortunate and the worst

of bad luck attend ye, and all belonging to ye, for ever and ever!" And, with those direful maledictions upon his lips, he passed into eternity.

His two brothers, Michael and Dan, as we have said, were detained in Bandon; and, when the time appointed for their execution drew near, endless droves of the country people—many of whom were on foot all the previous night—kept streaming in from every village and cabin for miles around. Each successive arrival adding itself to the already swollen mass, soon filled up the area in front of the guard-house in which the condemned lay, and, flowing over, occupied every thoroughfare and passage in the neighborhood. The houses at the opposite side, and those from which even a distant view could be obtained, had their doors, windows, and very chimney-tops alive with the townspeople, all burning with the same consuming curiosity which, at an early hour on that morning, drew the peasantry in thousands from their beds. The huge mob waited and waited noiselessly. There was scarce a whisper to disturb the monotony of that gigantic silence. At length, the large hand of the clock, which had been tediously toiling round and round the big black dial-plate, approached the appointed hour. A body of foot, who had taken up their position close to the prison-windows, where they grounded arms and stood at ease, were now ordered, "Attention!" and "Fix bayonets!" The dragoons, who sat listlessly upon their horses, rode sharply to the front; then, drawing swords, they wheeled to the right, and halted in rear of the infantry. The excitement became vehement. The enormous crowd, waving to and fro, carried people by hundreds off their feet. Many were in danger of

their lives ; and several received injuries so serious, that they carried the marks of them to their graves. But, nevertheless, every eye was still fixed upon the doorway from whence the Duves were to come forth. They had not long to wait. In a few minutes, the two miserable men, heavily ironed and handcuffed to each other, were led out and marched into the centre of the escort, Their appearance was the signal for a tremendous shout, which was caught up and echoed and re-echoed even by those who were so far distant as to be scarcely able to distinguish the glittering accoutrements of the soldiery. All through the streets, and up to Gallows Hill, the shouting continued ; the hoarse roar of voices rolled from one end of that vast assemblage to the other. It could not have been a shout of sympathy, for no honest men could sympathize with those whose hearts were hardened, and whose hands were stained with crime ; nor could it have been one of exultation, for how could thousands exult over the choking of two wretched beings ? No : it was an outburst of a feeling generated by circumstances, and not an impulse of nature. It forbade them setting the captives at liberty ; for they shuddered at the thought of their being again free. It showed them the expediency of punishing by death those who had well deserved their doom ; but yet those Duves had for years despised the laws and derided the authorities—hence the feeling* which lifted Mick

* This hatred of anything English originated with the conquest of Ireland by Henry II., and has remained with more or less intensity to the present. Anciently it prevailed when there was a long struggle for the mastery between the Saxon and the Celt. Then, when the Saxon became Protestant and the Celt remained Roman Catholic, to the difference of race was added the difference of religion. But when an enlightened policy stepped in, and swept away all those civil and political distinctions which rendered one party dominant and the other envious, and when the emoluments of office and the honors of the state were

into a brave man and Dan into a hero. The preparations for the last scene were simple, and were soon completed. It was then inquired of them if they wished to say anything. To this, Mick answered that he could not deny the justice of his sentence; and, after some few remarks to the same purpose, he concluded by imploring the prayers of all those present in behalf of his soul. But, when Dan, who was scarcely less criminal than his brother Donogh, was asked what he

bestowed as freely upon one as upon the other, this hideous anti-English feeling lost all its arguments, but, unfortunately, little of its bitterness. Driven from its old position, it has skulked into a new one, but a more harmless one, and where it will have to contend with every one except the most reckless or the most unfortunate. It may now be recognized in the feelings with which many of the debtors in this country regard their creditors. Should the creditor resort to legal redress to enforce payment for money lent, or for goods sold, or for labor performed, he appeals to laws framed in England; he follows the forms and procedures in England; he relies upon acts of the English Parliament; and he seeks the strong arm of the English law to wrest from the debtor his effects to satisfy his demands. Hence, the creditor is identified with England, and hence the feeling; and, although the creditor might be as purely Celtic in his origin as the debtor, yet, when the former attains to wealth or position, the latter identifies him with that race who have for centuries been owners of the soil, and, should he fancy himself aggrieved by him, will heed little whether his forefathers came over with Milesius or with Cromwell. But it is in the relation of the debtor for land to the creditor for land that this feeling is more apparent and more avowed; and, in this respect, we will venture to say that there is no class in this kingdom so unjustly dealt with by a large portion of our population as the owners of land. Should a capitalist invest his money in the funds, and become a fund-owner, he can get his dividends the day they become due; should he become a shareholder in a bank, in a railway, in mines, in ships, or in any other commercial enterprise, whatever he is entitled to he gets at the time appointed. Not so with those who purchase lands. How many of them get their rents the day they become due? how many of them are there that would dare demand them? And although the tenant, when he disposes of his corn or his butter, is paid for it on the day of sale, or when, at a market or fair, he sells his cow or his pig even to one of his own class, he takes care to get the cash within a few hours at farthest after it has become due, yet, should the landlord insist upon the fulfilment of the tenant's obligations with the same punctuality, what an outcry would be raised by the latter! Should he be compelled to sue for the rent of his lands, in their eyes he would be an oppressor; or, should he be driven to the alternative of demanding the lands themselves, he would be an exterminator.

had to say, "Och! the divil a bit!" he replied, "only I wish to J—— the job was over, as I don't want to be standing here in the cowl."

After hanging a considerable time, the bodies were cut down, and stretched upon the ground. A few scores of the curious still hovered about the spot. As time passed on, those thinned to units; and, in a few hours, of that immense concourse which deafened the overhanging skies with their cheers, and thronged in multitudes around their scaffolds, there was not even one left to scatter a handful of straw over their corpses, or to shade their livid faces from the light. The evening closed in, and there was no one would own them. At last, Mr. George Kingston, who was the owner of a timber-yard in the vicinity, and who had often good reason to complain of the frequent robberies committed on his premises after nightfall, had them removed, and buried within his concerns; trusting that even in death their very ashes would prove a safeguard against the ill disposed. The timber-yard is now the site of that agreeable suburban retreat known as Kingston's Buildings, and which upon two sides enclose an ornamental shrubbery, in the western portion of which, and within a few feet of where groups of little children are continually engaged in play, repose the peaceful dust of the once notorious and dreaded Duves.

1775.—At a new Parliament called this year, the members for Bandon were William B. Ponsonby, Esq., and Lodge Morris, Esq.

1777.—The Bandon Boyne (corps of yeomanry), which consisted of but one company, was enrolled. Their uniform was a blue coat, edged with buff, yellow buttons, buff waistcoat and small clothes, and gold

epaulets. In 1782, amongst other officers were Ensigns John Laone and — Wright, Surgeon Richard Laone, and Secretary Bernard Blake.

1778.—The Bandon Cavalry were enrolled. They wore a dark olive-green jacket, half lapelled, cuffs and collar of crimson velvet, and epaulets of silver; furniture—white cloth, hosing, and holster-caps, embroidered; device—"B. C.," harp and crown. The officers in 1782 were:

Colonel	Sampson Stawell
Major	John Moore Travers
Captains } . . .	Robert Waterhouse
	Simon T. Davies
Cornet	Charles Bernard
Chaplain	Rev. Charles Hewitt

The Bandon Independents were also enrolled this year. Their strength was the same as that of the Boyne—one company. Their uniform consisted of a scarlet coat faced with black, yellow buttons, and gold epaulets. In 1782, the officers were:

Colonel	Francis Bernard
Captain	Robert Sealy
Lieutenant	Thomas Child
Ensign	John Travers
Adjutant	George Kingston
Surgeon	Richard Laone
Secretary	Richard Needham

The Rev. Mr. Hazlitt was Presbyterian minister at Bandon for some years. His son—Hazlitt the historian and well known critic—writing of him, says:

"His theological views, most probably, were those of that kind which is called the English Puritan school. Being bound to no creed, they used the Scriptures with great freedom; and as many of that school became first indifferent to some popular theological opinions, and finally Unitarians, so Mr. Hazlitt was more anxious about moral than doctrinal teachings."

The same authority also furnishes us with some of the pranks played off by some of the military officers stationed here at this time, from which we extract the following :

"Amongst the English visitants who were sent to this country to irritate it by bad conduct, was a regiment of cavalry, the officers of which were a set of giddy coxcombs, who amused themselves by mischievously annoying the mere Irish, and perhaps with as cruel an ignorance, but as little individual malice, as schoolboys. Our aborigines wore large cloth cloaks with hoods to them. The women, coming into Bandon from the neighborhood to buy milk, had, on their way to the milk-market, to pass the mess-room, where the officers idled some of their time. The mess-room was at the White Hart Inn, in the centre of the town, and conveniently placed for a war upon the women natives. They had in the room a sufficient store of sods of turf; and the sport was to throw at each woman as she passed by. The cream of the joke was, if the earthen jug or pitcher fell broken on the street, and the poor woman's purchase of milk ran about, the military hero got great applause for his good aim, and his merit was deemed as high as what he won at 'blind hooky.' This excitement, however, lost novelty and interest, and the military sent over to reconcile the Irishry discovered one of higher zest. Bandon did not then enjoy public shedd-in meat-markets; and the meat was exposed for sale in the streets, and on the 'big bridge.' The sport-seeking heroes noticed this facility for fun; and, seeing a poor Papist eyeing the beef on a Friday or a fast-day, they compelled him to turn up the knees of his breeches, kneel down on his knees in the street, and eat a bit of raw beef at the point and from the point of the sword."

The house in which the Rev. Mr. Hazlitt lived was in Gallows-hill Street, near where the mill-stream crosses the roadway, and it adjoined the cross lane leading north to the Castle Road. Every trace of this house is now completely gone. In it was born Hazlitt, the biographer of the first Napoleon, and a celebrated critic; also John and William, his brothers, who became

afterwards men of artistic and literary fame. John was a painter, and some of his works were highly approved of by connoisseurs. William was a writer of ability; and Hazlitt's "Round Table"—two duodecimoes of light but useful essays—read well even to those who love the masterly style of the "Spectator." These two brothers—for the painter could handle the pen with the same facility as the brush—were active contributors to the "London Examiner" of their day; and it is stated that that publication was entirely indebted to the two Hazlitts for the high intellectual style and independent bearing which, at that time, rendered it so popular and attractive.

Hazlitt was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. King—a quaint and somewhat singular personage, but with a rich stratum of humor cropping out on the surface. We are told, that, whilst staying with a friend (the late Richard Dowden Richard) at Sunday's Well, in Cork, he pointed over to the imposing palatial residence of the Lord Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. "Look, Richard," said he to him, "look at the fisherman's hut." Mr. King was succeeded by the Rev. William Hunter, the clergyman now in charge. The congregation is not at present large, owing to the decadence of the woollen and linen manufacture, and the extensive emigration consequent thereon.*

* The old Bible published in 1610 by Robert Barker, of London, and used in "the meeting-house" for over a century and a quarter, was presented, in 1696, to the congregation of English Presbyterians—Puritans—worshipping there, by Mrs. Anne Jackson, with the following inscription: "This Bible was given by Mrs. Anne Jackson to the church of Christ gathered in and about Bandon, and soe to continue by succession."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE WOOLLEN TRADE AGAIN REVIVES—THE CURSE OF "OULD DOWDEN"—THE BANDON VOLUNTEERS AT BALLINCOLLIG—THE ROW ON THE BRIDGE—THE REV. ROBERT SWINDELLS AND THE TRUMPETERS—MACROOM CASTLE—WESLEY'S LAST VISIT TO BANDON—THE ATTACK ON THE MILLS—THE YEOMANRY CORPS—ANECDOTES.

THE woollen trade (1780) again revived, and flourished vigorously for about thirty years, during which time there was a very extensive business carried on, and an immensity of employment afforded. Some idea of its extent may be surmised from the fact that, at this period, there were no less than eighteen hundred looms employed in one department of the trade alone. The principal manufacturers and exporters were the Messrs. Dowden, Wheeler, Biggs, Quinlan, Popham, and Sealy.* A considerable portion of the product of the Bandon looms was disposed of in Dublin, in Limerick, and even as near home as Cork.

In the latter city, the principal agent was an old Puritanical oddity that kept a shop near the Exchange, and was familiarly known as "Ould Dowden." So strict was this old gentleman in his habits, and so cautious in his replies to the various interrogatories put to him during the course of a long business-life, that he was scarcely ever known to venture out into the world of words beyond yea or nay. He attended his place

* There was an old ballad, very popular at this time, beginning with—

"The Dowdens and Wheelers and Pophams, a score,
All weavers and dyers—a terrible bore."

of worship with scrupulous punctuality; and whether he was in good health, or on the point of death, or whether the sun was shining, or whether it was pouring "cats and dogs," it made no difference with "Ould Dowden:" he was the first man to enter the little Unitarian chapel, and the last to leave it. From all these circumstances put together, it was thought that, if ever he did curse anybody, the execrated party must necessarily wither up like a blasted potato-stalk; so that "the curse of ould Dowden down atop of ye" became an anathema by no means calculated to add to the personal comfort of the anathematized.

1781.—The volunteers of this county were reviewed at Ballincollig by the Earl of Charlemont. They formed a select and well disciplined body, amounting to thirty-five thousand men. The Bandon companies mustered strong on the occasion,* and were mainly composed of very tall and heavy men; the man on the extreme right of the first rank being close on six feet five inches in height, and in weight exceeding twenty

* This event was celebrated in a song, a few verses of which we subjoin:

"And have you seen the grand review?
And have you seen the grand review?
And have you seen the grand review
On Ballincollig's plains?

"And have you seen the Boyne True Blue?
And have you seen the Boyne True Blue?
And have you seen the Boyne True Blue—
The Bandon Volunteers!

"And every man stood six feet two,
And every man stood six feet two,
And every man stood six feet two—
The Bandon Fusiliers.

"Hearts of oak, and clad in blue
Faced with orange, were the Boyne so true;
Oh! such Britons no one ever knew
As the real True Blues of Bandon!

"And, when rebellion rose in the land,
England always could command
The loyal and devoted band
That lived in the town of Bandon."

stone. Their splendid appearance, and the precision with which they executed the various military manœuvres, drew strong expressions of admiration from the general officers present. They also earned the approbation of an old apple-woman—a native of the town—who could not restrain her exultation. “Yerra, well done entirely,” said she, “my fine black Protestants from Bandon!” The Bandonians were amongst the first to arrive on the field, and marched to their position to a tune not likely to infuse much military ardor into their ranks, the drums and fifes playing, “Oh! what a Rasping Beau your Daddy was!”

1785.—A great row happened this year. It seems that one of the 5th Dragoons, passing over the bridge, met a countryman, and, taking a fancy to his stick, tried to wrest it from, and would probably have succeeded had not the countryman’s companion come to his assistance, and knocked the soldier down. A well known mischief-maker named Joan Cunningham, who happened to be present, immediately ran off, and told some of the troopers, whom she met in Irishtown, what had occurred. These instantly hastened to their comrade’s help. The townspeople sided with the countryman, and a regular battle took place. In a short time, all the troops in the barracks turned out, armed with swords, and attacked indiscriminately every civilian; but the country people were the especial objects of their vengeance. Of these, forty-two were wounded, several severely injured, and two killed.

The Rev. Robert Swindells—a celebrated Wesleyan minister—visited Bandon. He was about preaching in the open piece of ground in front of the present Savings’ Bank, when down came some of the officers

of the gallant 5th Dragoons, bringing with them several trumpeters for the purpose of preventing his being heard. Swindells well knew their object, and, by a humorous contrivance, turned the laugh completely against them. He commenced the service by giving out the well known Wesleyan hymn, "Blow ye the Trumpets! blow!" He only gave out the first line, and then stopped. Upon this the trumpeters blew away, much to the amusement of the congregation, and the confusion of the officers, who felt quite disconcerted to find that their men should take such an instrumental and prominent part in the service, and that, too, at the bidding of the very man whom they had come to blow down. So indignant were they at being out-generalled by the poor preacher, that they ordered their men back instantly to barracks; and, slipping away one by one, they left Mr. Swindells in undisputed possession of the field.

1786.—The woollen trade was in a very flourishing condition at this time, not only in Bandon, but in the neighboring towns. In Macroon, we read, "The combing and spinning of wool were carried on extensively, and with great benefit to the town and surrounding country." The salt-works of Macroon were also considerable, there being no less than four salt-pans continually at work. The salt was chiefly bought up by the dairy-farmers in the district, by whom it was used in salting butter principally for exportation.

Macroon is so called after the Irish word signifying "a crooked oak." It was colonized in the beginning of the reign of James I. by Lord Muskerry, who induced several English families to come over and settle there—such as the Hardinges, Goolds, Hassetts, Kents, Fields, &c. The castle is of very early date,

having been built in the reign of King John by the Carews. Some attribute its erection to the Daltons. It was enlarged by Teige Mac Carthy, who died there in 1565. In 1602, its owner—Cormac Mac Dermot Mac Carthy, Lord Muskerry, who was suspected of hostile designs against the government—was detained a prisoner in Cork. Meanwhile, his castle was besieged by Sir Charles Wilmot, but without success, until the very night previous to the day upon which that officer had resolved to raise the siege, having received orders to that effect from the lord president. Then, by an unforeseen casualty, the very fortress he had despaired of capturing fell an easy prey into his hands. It so happened that the warders, being sadly in want of fresh provisions, resolved on killing a pig; and being unable to go down to the Sullane, as heretofore, and draw water for the purpose of scalding it, they were obliged to provide the best substitute circumstances would admit of, and therefore determined on the singeing process. Accordingly, when poor porkey was ready for the latter operation, they surrounded it with straw and fern, to which they applied a light, but in such a careless manner, that some of the ignited materials communicated with the thatched roof of a cabin, which was built against the wall of the bawn that surrounded the fortress. The thatched roof quickly blazed up; so that the flames, rushing in through an open window, seized on a lot of tallow and other combustibles, and the castle and the entire stronghold were soon a prey to the devouring element. The garrison, at first, took refuge in the bawn; but, seeing that this was but a poor place of safety, they attempted to escape into the adjoining woods, in which

effort they succeeded, but with the loss of about fifty of their number in killed. The fire having somewhat abated, the flames were got under; and Sir Charles, having put the place in order, laid in provisions for the company of foot which he quartered there, and the next day marched for Cork. In the great rebellion, it was again burnt down. In 1690, it, together with the other castles and estates of Lord Clancarthy, were forfeited to the crown. It is stated, but erroneously, that Admiral Sir William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, was born here.

1787.—John Wesley again visited Bandon, and remarked of some of the inhabitants, "that, though they were very well dressed, they were very badly conducted." Whilst preaching in the open air, in front of where the Court House now stands, his old opponents, the trumpeters, made their appearance, and began to play away as usual. Wesley was an old tactician by this time, and quietly lay upon his oars until they were done. Again he endeavored to preach, and again they trumpeted away; but, getting weary of this perpetual blowing, they rested themselves, and Wesley, taking advantage of the intermission, was eagerly addressing an attentive audience, when up rode Colonel Walpole, shouting out to the trumpeters with the voice of a Stentor, "Blow! blow! Blast and blow ye! why don't you blow?"

During this visit, Wesley paid a visit to Castle Bernard. Speaking of its owner, he says, "Mr. Bernard* has given it a beautiful front, resembling that

* James Bernard succeeded, upon the death of his uncle Francis, in 1783. He was the eldest surviving son of North Ludlow Bernard, who was the third son of Judge Bernard. North Ludlow was twice married—first to Rose, daughter of John Eehlin, Esq., by whom he had James

of Lord Mansfield's house at Carnwood, and opened part of his lovely park to the house, which, I think, has now as beautiful a situation as Rockingham House at Yorkshire. Mr. Bernard much resembles in person and air the late Sir George Saville. Though he is far the richest person in these parts, he keeps no race-horses or hounds, but loves his wife and home, and spends his time and fortune in improving his estate and employing the poor. Gentlemen of this spirit are a blessing to their neighborhood. May God increase their number!"

1789.—On the 17th of January, there was a great flood, known as "Strike's flood." A very heavy fall of rain began on the previous day, which continued incessantly throughout the night. This having dissolved the snow, which had covered the ground for several days, the town was visited with an inundation, the like of which never occurred here before. So high did the water rise, and so rapidly, that many people could only escape out of their houses by breaking through the roofs. Some notion of its depth in the lower parts of the town may be conjectured from the measurement of the water at Weir Street, which at one time reached a height of four feet and a half. It went away as suddenly as it came; and, however it may have damaged property, there was only one life lost—that of a blacksmith named Strike, whose forge was on the site now occupied by Mr. William Hart's establishment.

Bernard and other issue; and, secondly, to Mary, daughter of Richard, Viscount Fitzwilliam, and widow of Henry, Earl of Pembroke. James Bernard married Hester, daughter of Mr. Smyth, of Headborough, and relict of Major Gookin. By her former husband (Major Gookin), she had four children—one son and three daughters. The son died young, having been accidentally killed by a fall from the ivy in front of the old castle, up which he had climbed in quest of birds' nests. Upon his decease, his property reverted to his three sisters, by whose descendants the greater portion of it is still enjoyed.

The flood, having entered Strike's smithy, began rolling the movables to and fro; upon which some one jestingly remarked to him "to see to his anvil, as it was beginning to float." Hearing this, he jumped off the hob, with the intention of shutting the door, and preventing its exit; but by some mismanagement, instead of keeping within, he got outside, and, having "a drop taken," he lost his footing, and fell. At this time, there was no wall or fence of any kind where Burlington Quay now stands. It was an open space, with a slope continuous to the river. Poor Strike was hurried down the declivity, until he was carried into the main channel, where the waters were so fierce, and their progress so rapid, that no trace of the body could afterwards be discovered.

The centenary anniversary of the Black Monday insurrection was kept on the 25th of February as a great holiday. All the shops were closed; the bells tolled; and the corporation, duly robed, attended divine service, as did most of the inhabitants; after which a procession was formed, which walked through the streets, carrying the flags of the old Bandon militia, and other interesting relics of bygone days.

The first Methodist chapel was built in Bandon. It was erected on a plot of waste ground, in front of the church gate, at Kilbrogan, and adjoining the present fish-market. Previous to this, the Wesleyans worshipped in the large room of a house which, with others, filled the site now occupied by the bridewell. The chapel was opened on Thursday, the 3rd of May, by John Wesley, on which occasion he preached a very impressive sermon from the text, "To the Jew first, and to the Gentile." Our informant—an old lady now alive, and to whose excellent memory we are indebted

for many interesting facts contained in those pages—was present on the occasion, and tells us she was even then old enough to be on the look-out for a husband. She has treasured up every minute particular connected with the interesting ceremony, and is even still, after the lapse of seventy-two years, able to describe the very dresses worn by many of those present on the occasion.* This was Mr. Wesley's last visit to Bandon. Whilst here, he was the guest of the late Mr. Thomas Bennett, of Shaannon Street, who used to relate, that, upon Wesley's entering the parlor, Mungo, who had been *sunning* himself on the hearth-rug before the fire, got up and violently barked at the venerable apostle. The host was distracted, and, seizing his gold-headed cane, made several ineffectual attempts to demolish the canine miscreant; but Wesley stopped him, and patting him familiarly upon the shoulder, "Never mind, Tom," said he, "never mind; there is many a dog in the human family that barks, intent more on making a noise than on doing an injury."

1790.—At the new Parliament assembled in Dublin, B. Chinnery, Esq., was returned for Bandon.

1791.—Several of the flour-mills, both in town and country, were much injured this year by a large mob. This did not result from any scarcity or want of provisions, but from the fact of the bolting millers, as they were called, beginning now for the first time to buy up large quantities of wheat. The townspeople considered this an interference with their established usage, having up to this time been accustomed to buy their weekly

* Bandon abounds with very old people. We are acquainted with one old man, whom many persons devoutly believe to have been present at the battle of the Boyne. It is stated he was at that time a grown-up boy, and acted as drummer to the Bandon volunteers. *Credat Apella.*

supply of raw grain direct from the farmer in pecks, half pecks, or bushels, according to their requirements. They used then to take it to the manor mill, where it was ground and prepared for consumption. The farmers, of course, were glad to meet with a purchaser, who took their entire lot, and paid as much for it as they could get from the small buyer by retailing it. Consequently, they gave the former the preference. This stirred up the working-classes. They first attacked the mill belonging to Mr. Jacob Biggs; then they went to Kilbrittain, and attacked Mr. Stawell's; from thence they proceeded to Mr. Pratt's, of Shannon Vale; then to Balliniscarthy, and to several others.

1793.—On the 18th of November, Colonel Bernard (afterwards Earl of Bandon) obtained permission to raise and organize a body of infantry, the old force, enrolled in 1777 and 1778, having been disbanded for some years. This body was divided into three corps—the Boyne, the Union, and the True Blues. The Boyne wore scarlet coats, faced with blue, and trimmed with gold lace, and upon their breastplates an equestrian statue of William III. crossing the Boyne. The Union, too, had scarlet coats; but their trimmings were laced with silver, and their facings were of black velvet. The True Blues, also, had coats of scarlet, braided with silver lace. Each company had three officers—a captain, lieutenant, and ensign. Those of the Boyne were:

Captain	Robert Travers
Lieutenant	Joshua Cooper
Ensign	John Laone

THE UNION.

Captain	George Kingston
Lieutenant	Isaac Dowden
Ensign	Thomas Dowden

THE TRUE BLUES.

Captain	Anthony Connell
Lieutenant	William Jenkins
Ensign	Allen Evanson

These companies being entirely composed of volunteers, there was very little difference in the social scale between the officers and men; the full private of one year being a full-blown captain in the next, and *vice versa*. The Boyne company, which was first called out in 1777, was a recognized embodiment of the Bandon volunteers, the original members of which we have seen taking part in the decisive engagement between William and James more than a century before. As vacancies would occur in the ranks of those that smelt powder on that memorable occasion, they were filled up by the sons of those that were there; as time rolled past, by the grandsons; then great-grandsons; when these could not be had, then by undoubted sympathizers. Thus was the body kept up; and, now that yeomanry corps and Irish volunteers are things of the past, yet this old fraternity still clings together, with its outward appearance, indeed, changed—an Orange ribbon being substituted for a scarlet coat, and an Orange lodge doing duty as a barrack-room; but the old spirit still lives. There is the same uncompromising hatred of pope and popery that raged in the bosoms of those that plunged into the water with their brethren of Londonderry; and their repugnance for receiving brass money at its impressed value, and their horror of wooden shoes, are as great as ever.

There are a great many anecdotes still told here about the old Protestant inhabitants and their intense aversion to the Papacy. Many of these are very

amusing, but others are positively ludicrous. We are told that the grandfather of the late Mr. — was a very well intentioned, simple-minded man, who used to say his prayers not only every morning and evening, but even in the middle of the day, whenever he could conveniently do so. Yet it was notorious of him, that, in repeating the Lord's Prayer (which he never failed to do in his supplications), whenever he would come to "As we forgive them that trespass against us," he would always put in as a contingency, "provided they weren't Papists;" the simple-minded man telling the Great Creator, that he would be afraid of his life to ask forgiveness for any of them; for if Sally (his wife) heard it, she'd throw boiling water on him.

Even yet, not many years since, one of those old-fashioned Protestants happened to be summoned to give evidence in a case at the Cork assizes. He was cross-examined by the late Mr. George Bennett, who, amongst other questions, asked him what religion he was of. "Yerra, Bill!" quoth the witness, turning to a friend that had accompanied him from Bandon, "does you hear that?" Bill did hear it, and indignantly told the learned counsel he must be a very ignorant fellow that would not know a Bandon Protestant by looking in his face. Nothing daunted by Bill's rebuff, counsel persevered: "How do you know you're a Protestant?"—"How do I know I'm a Protestant?" said he, repeating the words in a contemptuous and mimicking tone, "O holy Moses! for a learned man to ask such a question as that!"—"Yes, sir: I again repeat it;" but this time it was observed that the worthy advocate's voice betrayed no inconsiderable share of irritation—"How do you know you're a Protestant?"—" 'Cause I ates

mate of a Friday, and hates a Papist,"* was the surly reply.

Bandon Protestantism was believed to be the *ne plus ultra* of orthodoxy; and even the Roman-Catholic inhabitants, whether from hearing so much about it, or being brought so often in contact with its professors, we know not, but certain it is that they absolutely became tinged with it themselves, and used to institute favorable comparisons between themselves and the Protestants of the neighboring towns. "A Bandon Papist is better than either a Cork or a Kinsale Protestant any day," is an aphorism the truth of which is so self-evident, that it has never yet been called in question.

* Wherever this term occurs in our pages, it has been invariably used as a quotation.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FRENCH IN BANTRY BAY—GREAT CONSTERNATION THROUGHOUT THIS NEIGHBORHOOD—EXECUTION OF THREE UNITED IRISHMEN NEAR INNOSHANNON—THE BALLINISCARTHY ROUT—A NEW VERSION OF "BRODER TEAGUE"—HUMOROUS EXTRACT OF A LETTER DESCRIBING THE FIRST OF JULY IN BANDON—LIST OF REQUESTS TO THE POOR OF KILBROGAN—SHOULD YOU EVER SEEK THE REPRESENTATION OF BANDON UPON LIBERAL PRINCIPLES, DO NOT CANVASS "AN OULD BLACK BULL"—THREE KINDS OF PROTESTANTS IN BANDON—DISBANDING OF THE BANDON YEOMANRY CORPS—A STRIKE AND ITS EFFECTS.

IN 1796, the Rev. John Kenny was appointed Rector of Kilbrogan in the room of Rev. Dr. Browne, deceased.

The foundation-stone of the Roman-Catholic chapel near Gallows Hill was laid on the 28th of April, this year. The ground was gratuitously given by the Earl of Bandon, who, in addition, subscribed liberally towards its erection, as did also many of the Protestant inhabitants.

On the 14th of December, the French fleet—consisting of eighteen sail of the line, fourteen frigates, five large transports, and some small vessels—sailed from Brest for Bantry Bay, having on board twenty-five thousand men, under the command of General Hoche. The greater portion of it did not arrive at its destination until Christmas Eve, which arose in some measure from adverse winds, and from the fact of those on board having mistaken the Durseys for the Mizen Head. Finding that the whole country was up in arms against them,

and that a determined spirit of resistance pervaded every class of the community, they resolved on holding a council of war, where, after much deliberation, it was at first decided that the soldiers should land, under the guidance of some Irishmen who had sailed with them from France. But considering that by this time troops were upon the march from every quarter upon Bantry, that the peasantry were decidedly hostile, and that in this perplexity they had not even their general to consult, they ultimately decided upon again putting to sea, which they accordingly did on the 2nd of January, 1797, having just remained nine days.

1797.—During their stay in Bantry, great consternation prevailed throughout this neighborhood. The enemy's advanced guard was daily expected. As yet, it had not come; but, on the last day of the old year, intelligence, which left no doubt as to its correctness, had been received that the French would arrive about midnight. Again the town resounded with the call to arms. There were the shrill fifes of the Union, the deep-rolling drums of the True Blues, and the loud clanging ring of the bugles of the Boyne; there was the heavy, measured tread of disciplined and determined men, as ever and anon they marched past in large detachments. All the doors were barricaded, and every house was converted into a garrison. There was a string of outlying pickets kept up along the main roads; and, when the dreary December day gave place to the gloomy and portentous night, lighted candles were placed in many of the windows. There are many still alive who remember minutely the events of that ill boding night. They relate, that, about an hour before day, the rain poured down in torrents; also that an

artillery force, which arrived late on the previous evening, was, for want of accommodation, barracked in Kilbrogan Church, in which they remained until all traces of the French had disappeared.*

In this year, the Hon. William O'Callaghan was elected to represent Bandon.

1798.—Three men, belonging to the Westmeath and Roscommon infantry militia and the Limerick horse, named Drumgoold, Gilligan, and Hennessy were tried by court-martial for belonging to the society of United Irishmen, and inducing others to join it. Being found guilty, they were sentenced to be shot. Drumgoold was always loud in his professions of loyalty, and the very night before his arrest, whilst drinking with some of his comrades, proposed as a toast, "The French fleet in Bantry Bay, with their keels uppermost." The day after their condemnation, they were marched from the camp at Mammoor through Bandon, and down to a field midway between Bandon and Innoshannon, and off what is now known as the Old Innoshannon Road. The troops were drawn up on the three sides of a square, the fourth being reserved as the place of execution. The unhappy men being brought forward, their sentence was read out to them, after which they were pinioned, and placed in a kneeling position upon their coffins. The firing party being told off, and the word of command given, it was found, when the smoke had cleared away, that Gilligan and Hennessy had rolled into the grass two bleeding corpses, but that Drumgoold remained unharmed. Upon this the provost-sergeant leisurely

* Several of the stones upon which the cannoneers used to sharpen their side-arms may still be seen in the archway of the principal entrance, and in other parts of the sacred edifice.

marched up to him, and, placing the muzzle of his pistol close on his right temple, deliberately blew out his brains. All three were then coffined, and buried in the picturesque little graveyard of Innoshannon. For a long time afterwards, and up to a few years since, three large mounds of stone marked the place of execution; but the utilitarian spirit of the age has removed even these, and, the last time we saw this *place de greve*, a field of turnips was occupying the field of blood.

On the 19th of June, the Westmeath regiment of militia, consisting of upwards of seven hundred men, under the command of Colonel Sir Hugh O'Reilly, marched from Clonakilty, where they had been some time quartered, for Bandon. When they had reached within a short distance of Balliniscarthy, several hundreds of the insurgents, armed chiefly with pikes, hastened to meet them. Sir Hugh called a halt, formed his men, and gave the word to load. The order they obeyed, and rammed down cartridges in due form, but *without the balls*: these they bit off, and dropped upon the road. The rebels still pressing on, the section on the right of the column was ordered to fire; but the harmless discharge only produced merriment. Anticipating little injury after this friendly reception, the insurgents now boldly came up. Some of them shook the soldiery by the hand, and familiarly addressed them by name. More of them slapped them on the back, and swore the day was their own. Others bestrode the cannon; and one huge fellow, named Teige an Astna, more audacious than his fellows, actually walked up, and seized the colonel's charger by the bridle. But a sergeant, who was in the ranks, and one of the few that had loaded with ball, stepped a pace or two to the front,

and, levelling his piece at Teige, shot him dead; but he did not live long to congratulate himself upon his loyalty; for his rear-rank man, taking aim, discharged his musket through his back, and he fell in agony upon the ground. There were a few rank and file scattered throughout the ranks of the same way of thinking as poor Cummins; and now they began to grow uneasy for their lives, and well they might. Some of their comrades, with whom they had never once interchanged an angry word, now pushed intentionally against them; others spat in their faces, and in a short time, in all probability, they would have shared the sergeant's fate, had not a strong company of the Caithness Legion, under Major Jones, opportunely made its appearance.

This little force had been sent out to reconnoitre, and to keep the Westmeath in check, information as to the premeditated disloyalty of that corps having been received in Bandon the night before. Their unexpected arrival produced a magical effect upon the disaffected. The most turbulent amongst them became instantly silent. They fell into the ranks without even waiting for the word of command; and, when ordered to march, they set forward with alacrity. Meanwhile, the Caithness continued to advance, and, having got between the rear of the Westmeath and the enemy's front, they faced to the latter; then, suddenly opening out their ranks, they discharged their two field-pieces at them with much effect. Accompanying this with a volley of musketry, they soon sent them scampering off to the hills.

The bodies of the two men were taken in a cart to Clonakilty. That of Teige an Astna was ignominiously flung into a pool of water in the Strand, called Crab Hole; but the remains of Sergeant Cummins were

buried with full military honors in the graveyard attached to the parish church of the town.

1799.—The following verses were extensively circulated about our locality in this year. They were written on the union—a subject which, at this time, engrossed the public mind to the exclusion of almost everything else :

“Ho, broder Teague! did you hear de decree,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

Dat united men we all shall be?

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, lilli burlero, lero, lero, bullin a la;

Lero, lero, lilli burlero, lero, lero, bullin a la.

“Says England, ‘Since union’s de ting dat you want,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

By J——! I’ll give you a bellyfull on’t,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

“And if green be de color you want, by de mass!

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

You’ll be pleased when all Bandon is covered with grass,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.’

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

“But says Teague, ‘Now by union what is it dey mane?’

Lilli burlero, bullin a la;

Sure, ’tis binding tree nations all fast in one chain,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

“’Tis a skame that quite boddors one’s brain, faith and troth!

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

For ’tis worse for the one, yet ’tis better for both,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

“Is not Johnny Fitzgibbon gone straight to the king?

Lilli burlero, bullin a la;

Och! between dem both, won’t day settle de ting

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"He'll drive a rare job for us all, you may swear,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

And anoder as good for Lord Chancellor Clare,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"Arrah! since we have a Parliament not to our mind,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

Sure, to take it away now is wondrous kind,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"Could a minister wish for his job better tools,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

Dan a cargo of knaves, when exported by fools?

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"And, by Crish! we'll not send them such thundering elves,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

Who will take care of deir country, and not of demselves,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"Och! when Paddy in Westminster takes his own sate,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

By my show! he'll enliven de British debate,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"Should de speaker call order, he'll huff and look big,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

Till he'll make every hair stand on end on his wig,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"Should a member presume on his speech to remark,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

Sure, he'll be ready to meet him next day in de Park,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

"For a park like our Phaynix in London dey've got,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la,

By gentlemen used for exchanging a shot,

Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" Won't it be a vast benefit now to our trade,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
When all laws to promote it in England are made?
Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" You've seen, Teague, a cur to whose draggled backside,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
Butchers' boys have a broken old canister tied,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" Now, if England's de dog whom French butchers assail,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
Will not we be de canister tied to her tail?
Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" Not a great while ago, sure, we heard a vast dale,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la,
About renunciation and simple repale,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" But dis skame now will strike every orator mute,
Lero burlero, bullin a la,
And de union will settle dis simple dispute,
Lero burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c.

" And 'twill den to our fierce Orange yeomen be known,
Lero burlero, bullin a la,
Dat, in cutting our troats, dey are cutting deir own,
Lilli burlero, bullin a la.

Chorus.—Lero, lero, &c."

1800.—The following humorous extract from a letter, dated Bandon, July 10, shows that the new century opened out with the old state of things :

"The loyalty of this town never appeared more conspicuously than on the glorious 1st of July. The windows were decked out with green boughs, variegated with flowers and orange lilies, and appeared at a distance as so many

hanging gardens; while the mind was awfully impressed with the sight of those royal culprits, King James and Queen Mary, who were hanged, shot at, and consigned to the flames, as they ought to be. The spectators beheld, with pleasing astonishment, King William placed on one of the spires of the churches, majestically moving in the air, riding over a salmon painted orange color, and with purple fins. The battle of the books was nothing to the real battle that took place between the caps. In the beginning, the country women, who were accustomed to pluck sheep, had by far the advantage, when a reinforcement coming down to the Orange girls, victory was soon decided in their favor, when caps, ribbons, and hair were plentifully distributed about."

1802.—Thomas Lisson, of Bandon, bequeathed five pounds per annum for ever to the poor of Kilbrogan. Of the following legacies and bequests to the poor of Kilbrogan parish, no account has been given :

Five shillings to be paid annually, out of the holdings of John Hammet, to the poor of Bandon.

One pound and ten shillings out of the premises of Thomas Lisson, in the town of Bandon, being Langton's holdings.

One pound and ten shillings, paid by the Provost of Bandon for the town, being to the poor of Kilbrogan.

Two pounds annually out of holdings of the widow of the late George Conner, Esq.

Two pounds annually out of the premises called Love's Holdings.

The interest on the principal sum of thirty pounds, bequeathed by William Banfield, junior, as follows: "I order, devise, and bequeathe to the poor of the parish of Kilbrogan the yearly interest of thirty pounds, said principal to be lodged in the hands of the minister of said parish of Kilbrogan. Twelve months after my decease, and not till then, said interest to commence."

1803.—The forts and military works at Whiddy and Bantry Bay were commenced in this year. The old name of Bantry was Ballygobbin, also the Old Town, to distinguish it from another settlement more to the

north, called New Town, where General Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, had a fortification erected, with four regular bastions. Additional accommodation for two thousand men was taken in Bandon. Cornwall's brewery, Biggs's mills, Dowden and Wheeler's stores, Kingston's Buildings—in fact, nearly all the large concerns in the town—were this year occupied as barracks.

1805.—At this time, strange as it may now seem, amongst the foremost in Bandon to celebrate the downfall of King James were many of that monarch's co-religionists; and we are assured that they used to rival, if not excel, some of the staunchest Protestant Dissenters in declaiming against the despotism of the Stuarts. Notwithstanding all that political agitation has since done to widen the breach, the tendency of both sides to sink their differences, and forgive and forget, is, we hope, steadily on the increase. Commercial intercourse has done a great deal towards this desirable result by affording people an opportunity of knowing each other. When they are brought together, and interchange thoughts, they often discover that the interests which they supposed to be antagonistic are identical. They see that the same laws which protect the thousands of the rich are equally careful of the pence of the poor; that the owner of a tract of land equal in area to half a county, and with the revenue of a prince, cannot forcibly lay his finger upon the humblest peasant of the humblest mud-cabin upon his estate, without being amenable to the same tribunal and the same measure of punishment as if the peasant were the aggressor. Railway-carriages have already done much towards dispelling the mist that shrouded

man from his fellow. Here people of all ranks meet quietly together. The traveller of a Cornish tinman, or a Birmingham warehouseman, or a London tea-house, can sit side by side with the highest peer of the realm, and, by his very contact with him, confer a benefit upon both. The former sees that the Most Noble His Grace the Duke of This, or the Right Honorable the Earl of That, is nothing more than a coil of poor human clay like himself; and the latter may often catch a mouthful of invigorating common sense—a requisite, perhaps, often a novelty in the atmosphere which usually surrounds him. Even the trappings of their social *status* are found to herd harmoniously together. The heraldic emblazonry on the coronetted panels of the nobleman's carriage may be seen in company with sample tin saucepans from Bodmin, fire-shovels from Birmingham, or a chest of "our fine Pekoe flavor at 4s. 4d."

Many of our peasantry are proud of running up their pedigree to some famous Protestant in "the ould times;" and the worse he would appear to us now-a-days, the better they like him, and the prouder they are of him. A short time since, we overtook a poor man returning from mass; and, in the course of conversation, he mentioned his name. We remarked that it was the name of a very old Protestant family that formerly lived in Bandon. "Why," said he, "my grandfather was a Protestant; and he was none of your wake-tay or staggering-bob Protestants either, but a fine, rale ould illigant black bull. Oh!" continued he, "he was so fine and black in himself, that he wouldn't say, 'God save all here!' if there was a Papist present."

The "old black bull" was generally a member of that rigid and uncompromising sect of religionists, the Presbyterians. Socially he was as playful as a kitten, and as harmless as an old horse; but he was a man of strong prejudices, and so honest was he in the advocacy of what he thought right, that he flung toleration, respect for his opponents' convictions, and other results of an advanced civilization, to the winds. John Knox he looked upon as a hero, as well as an apostle. Of the high Episcopalians, he thought, "The least said, the soonest mended. The high church," he used to say, "is on the high road to Rome." In his eyes, there was scarcely a difference between the Prelacy and the Papacy. The clergy of both churches wore vestments, and claimed power to absolve penitent people from their sins; the confessions were the same, one merely repeating in Latin what the other repeated in English; the baptismal service was the same, even to marking the newly initiated members of the church with the sign of the cross; and the intolerant and persecuting spirit which always characterized the one was not wanting in the other. Concerning the latter, he could never forget that, in the reign of the second Charles, several thousands of the best men of the Non-Conformists were flung into prison, with nothing more laid to their charge than that of refusing to adopt the tenets and ritual of the Church of England. But, great as was his aversion to the prelacy, it was exceeded by his horror of popery. His Puritanical abhorrence of the latter had been transmitted to him through generations. Indeed, it was often the only legacy his fathers had to bequeathe. With it spiritually he had nothing to do. He knew well that the humble Roman Catholic, who

told his beads upon his knees, had the same right to think that he had, and was as sincere in his devotions as he was himself. It was against the political Papacy that the strongest feelings of his nature were directed. This he could never be prevailed upon to give credit for good intentions. When he looked at those who exercised such peremptory powers in religious matters carry the same spirit which produced them into temporal affairs; and when he saw those under their sway, who ventured to express an opinion not sanctioned by them, reprov'd by the thumb-screw, and their arguments silenced by the inquisition—he did not believe them when they shouted for liberty of conscience. But his dislike to the Papacy by no means extended itself to its professors. His ear was ever open to the wail of woe, regardless from whence it came; and his hand was outstretched with charity, without heeding whether the applicant looked for divine truth among the unadorned worship-houses of the Non-Conformists, or amidst the gorgeous colonnades of Rome. He was ever foremost to help a poor neighbor; and, should Death enter the humble cabin and remove its provider, amongst the readiest to step forward, catch the little orphan by the hand, and share with him the comforts of his own home, was the “old black bull.”

There are some specimens of the *taurus antiquus niger* still in being. Not long since, we happened to be present when a friend of ours, who sought the representation of his native town upon principles more in accordance with the spirit of the age than those previously advocated, called upon one of those. “Well, Dick, my old boy,” quoth the candidate for senatorial honors, “I know you’ll stand to an old neighbor and

an old friend." Dick raised his eyes, and observing a Roman-Catholic gentleman, who formed one of the deputation, surlily growled out, "I don't like your company." Upon this, we all addressed Richard blandly, some reminding him of interesting incidents connected with their mutual childhood; others told him humorous little anecdotes, and spoke as softly and handled him as gently as a young mother would her firstborn babe. In course of time, we thought we made some impression upon his obdurate heart; and even one or two of the most sanguine amongst us fancied we could discern a faint streak or two of a smile flitting about his upper lip. Again our chief led the attack: "Well, Dick? Ah! I knew I could always count upon your vote and interest." Dick, thus challenged, again raised his head, and ran his eyes over the Protestant portion of us fairly enough; but, when they alighted on the admirer of the triple tiara, oh, the scowl! 'twas as black and deep as a thunder-cloud, and every bit as dangerous. He hissed like a cobra de capella, made a rush for his hammer, and we—why we ran, of course. Would you blame us?

The Bandon Protestants may fairly be divided into three classes—the positive, the comparative, and the superlative; or fair, brown, and black. Of these, the positive or fair Protestant is a rational being, and may be classed with the Liberal Conservatives or moderate Whigs of our own day; the second think, that, if Victor Emanuel held his court at the Vatican, and the pope was reduced to the position of a big parish priest upon small dues, things may mend; but the superlative or black Protestant is an unmitigated savage.

1806.—The Right Hon. George Tierney, of London and of Wimbledon in Surrey, was elected to represent Bandon in the imperial Parliament.

1809.—It was customary for the Bandon volunteers, which consisted of the three companies previously mentioned, to meet often for the purpose of inspection and ball-practice. Information as to the appointed time was usually given by a printed circular, a copy of one of which we annex :

“BANDON UNION.

“SIR,—You are requested to parade next Monday, at eleven o'clock, in full uniform, arms, &c., to fire at a target.

“GEORGE KINGSTON,
Captain.

“To Mr. —.”

July was their favorite month for parading, and the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne was their favorite day. Throughout the entire of this month, every man used to turn out with a flower (generally an orange lily) in the muzzle of his musket, just as the patriotic troops still do in Italy, Germany, and other places. On the 6th of July, in this year, Colonel Auriel, the commandant, issued an order for a full-dress parade. The corps assembled in the usual places. The Boyne “fell in” in the open space where the meat-shambles now stand; the True Blues took open order in front of the Court House, and the Union opposite the house now occupied as the Provincial Bank. Riding up in company with Lord Bandon and several other officers to the Boyne, the commandant made a vigorous speech, in which he specially denounced political badges, and finally concluded by ordering the men of that corps to take out the lily or lay down their arms. The

men unhesitatingly adopted the latter alternative, and down went the arms with a crash that sent ramrods and broken bayonets ringing about in every direction. Auriel and his party then rode down to the True Blues, where the previous order was repeated, and down went brown Bess without a murmur. But he was more successful with the Union; several of the men retaining the musket, and removing the obnoxious lily. The same day, the three corps were formally disbanded.

Whether Colonel Auriel had received instructions from the executive to seek a pretext for disbanding those volunteers, we know not; but certain it is, that no government would sanction some of the language used by him on that day. He told them, that the wearing of the lily was an act of cowardice; and that, although they had that badge of loyalty in their caps, he made no doubt but they may have the United Irishmen's oath in their pockets.

The policy of wearing badges of any sort has long since grown into disfavor; and we doubt if there ever was any need of symbolizing one's attachment to the institutions of his country by wearing either a flower or a ribbon. As to the latter statement, that he "made no doubt but they may have the United Irishmen's oath in their pockets," this could only have been uttered with the view of causing excessive irritation; for well he must have known that there was no body of men in the British empire more devotedly attached to the crown and constitution of Great Britain than the yeomanry of Bandon; and their amazement could have been only surpassed by their indignation, when they found that any power occupying the place of Cromwell or of William III. could entertain any doubt as to their

loyalty. It must have sounded strangely in their ears to hear the term "cowardice" applied to the descendants of those who never knew what it was to retreat in the terrible times of 1641, and of those who, when they were surrounded by the disciplined regiments of Clancarthy in 1689, and when destruction threatened their town and death themselves, yet they quailed not. 'Twas unmanly—'twas unjust—'twas unsoldierly—yea, it was cowardly, to daub this slanderous lie upon such men—upon men, too, who would at any time have thought the welfare of our cherished institutions cheaply purchased by the sacrifice of their lives.

1810.—This year, the woollen trade, which had been reeling for some time, under the effects of repeated strikes, at length fell down altogether. For years before, the workmen had entered into trade combinations, and used to meet regularly in a large field to the south-west of Messrs. Fitzgerald's distillery, where everyone who could invent a grievance or picture an injury was eagerly listened to; but the palm of patriotism was reserved for him who could force up wages to the last endurable degree, so that the artizans divided all the profits between them, and left the manufacturer nothing to reserve for a protested bill, an uprising in the raw material, or any of the other contingencies to which trade is liable.

At first, the masters strove hard against all this; but what could they do? Then they became irritable, sulky, and finally indifferent. Whilst the trade was thus dragging along with just sufficient life in its paralyzed limbs to keep moving, a very large order had been received by Mr. Thomas Biggs, best known as "Governor Biggs." The weavers heard of the order.

They called a special meeting, and they struck, of course. Mr. Biggs was a sensible, practical man, and one greatly interested in the prosperity of his native town; and, fearing matters might terminate badly, he sent for the workmen, and, producing the contract, showed them the impossibility of being able to increase their wages by an additional farthing. He also drew their attention to a clause in the agreement, liberating him from the fulfilment of his obligations in case of a strike. But it did not avail. They should have what they demanded. "Well," said he, "there are the carts still laden with the balls of thread which they have brought out from Cork, and there they shall remain until Monday morning. Meanwhile, turn the matter well over in your minds; for, by that time, I must have your final decision." In the interim, he called the manufacturers together; and they, after a short consultation, decided on closing their establishments if the weavers persevered. The trade was to them unremunerative; they were sick of it; and they did not regret that matters had now come to an issue.

On the Monday morning, the workmen came, and brought with them the old story—they should get the required advance. The "Governor" was a very determined man. He ordered the horses to be put to; crack went the whips; away rolled the carts, and with them departed, we fear, for ever the once staple article of our old trade, and the basis of our commercial prosperity, for over two hundred years. A deputation called on him that evening to say they would reconsider their decision; but he told them *it was too late*. They came again next morning, and said they would work for the old wages. Again they came, and they offered

to take twenty-five per cent off even this. Before one o'clock, they had resolved to sacrifice another large slice. *But it was too late.* A day of apprehension and of want slowly trailed its weary hours over them. Early on the morrow of the next day they came, "Give us what you like," they cried; "but, oh! save us from starving." *It was too late.* The fact was, Mr. Biggs had thrown up the contract by Monday's post, and, even if desirous of recalling it, it was now impossible. *It was too late.*

Then commenced an exodus, the like of which, considering the extent of our population, we have scarce seen paralleled even in history, and which has left us, after an interval of fifty years, with not one-half the number of inhabitants the town contained in this year. Family circles—indeed, we are told, entire communities—fled to Manchester, Leeds, London, and even to Paris. Crowds crossed the broad Atlantic; and many passed away to unknown lands, and have not left even a trace of their whereabouts. Those that could not make away were employed on the relief-works; many of the hilly roads in our neighborhood being then cut down, as Barrett's Hill, Lovell's Hill, &c. Lodgings were unlet; houses were unoccupied; whole streets were deserted; and many and many a green meadow, now roamed over by an "Ayrshire" or a "Durham," was then the site of a clean, orderly row of white cottages; and the solemn stillness of the country now reigns where the unvarying click-clack of the shuttle and the weaver's merry song once held undisputed sway.

Several spirited attempts were subsequently made by Messrs. George Allman, Richard Wheeler, and James Scott, to introduce the cotton trade. The first-named

gentleman erected extensive concerns for that purpose, being one hundred and thirty-four feet in length, thirty-four in width, and fifty in height. They contained five floors, all underlaid with sheet-iron. They also contained ten thousand spinning spindles, with all the necessary machinery for turning out three thousand pounds' weight per week of manufactured cotton. We are unable to say whether it was owing to the distance to which the raw material, when landed, was obliged to be carted inland, and, when manufactured, carted back again for shipment, or to what other cause ; but certain it is, that this attempt soon languished and died out, and the large premises, after being idle for a number of years, were eventually hired out as an auxiliary workhouse.

The manufacture of corduroys was tried here, too, and, with varying success, held its ground for a number of years ; but, in the end, it, too, perished. The linen manufacture (principally tickings) continued here for about a century and a quarter ; but it also sickened, and followed in the wake of the others, but not, however, without leaving some trace of its existence behind, and for which we are solely indebted to the perseverance of one individual, who, amongst the multifarious pursuits of an extensive commerce, has yet found leisure to keep alive a few lingering mementoes of the old Bandon loom.

THE END.

